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Reigning 21 Years.

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, and his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH, by the Author of the FEMALE QUIXOTE.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY the GREAT.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

A NEW EDITION.

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SUMMARY

OF THE

BOOKS contained in the SECOND VOLUME.

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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VII.

I CONTINUED no longer in the camp before Laon after this event. Some difficulties which aroſe in the treaties, particularly that with the baron de Medavy, obliged me, in obedience to his majeſty's orders, to take a journey to Rouen, which was followed by a ſecond to Paris, and another, more conſiderable than both, to Sedan. 1594.

The duke of Bouillon gave daily new occaſions of diſcontent to the king. When, thro' his majeſty's intereſt, he had married the heireſs of Sedan, he promiſed to bring him a certain number of troops; but he not only neglected to perform this promiſe, but alſo retained, without aſking the king's permiſſion, the troops which he had lent him to guard his frontier till he was in peaceable poſſeſſion of his new principality; nor did he make any excuſe for not ſending them back, or give him any account of the ſituation of his affairs. His new grandeur inſpired him with the vanity of making himſelf be looked upon as a formidable potentate in Europe. This, which he could not hope from a ſtate ſo weak and confined as his, he ſought to obtain by all ſorts of artifices and intrigues in the neighbouring courts. All the malecontents in Eu-

1594. rope were ſure of finding a protector in him, and he was the main ſpring that gave motion to the cabals of Auvergne and Entragues.

One day when the king ſent for me ſo early in the morning that I found him in bed, having only Ozeray and Armagnac in his apartment, and that we were all conſulting upon meaſures to prevent the dangerous deſigns of ſo many ſecret enemies, his majeſty dwelt in particular upon the duke of Bouillon, and ſeemed greatly affected with his ingratitude, after having conferred an obligation on him which ought to have bound him for ever to his intereſts. In effect, the king, by promoting his marriage with mademoiſelle de Bouillon, had given him a proof of friendſhip ſo much the ſtronger, in that he acted againſt his own judgment, and the advice of all thoſe to whom he had mentioned it. The next day after this converſation had paſſed, Beringhen preſented a gentleman to the king, in his chamber, who brought him a letter from Bouillon, in which the duke informed his majeſty of the death of his wife, and excuſed his delay, by the grief and perplexity into which her death had thrown him. This letter likewiſe gave the king to underſtand, that madam de Bouillon had left a will, in which ſhe bequeathed the principality of Sedan and all her eſtates to her huſband, and put them under the protection of the king of France; becauſe it was expected, that her relations would give the duke of Bouillon great diſturbance about this donation. "That is to ſay," ſaid the king when he had finiſhed reading the letter, "that the "duke of Bouillon has occaſion for my aſſiſtance: "Is not this a very honourable way of proceeding?"

To humble and puniſh the duke, his majeſty was ſtrongly inclined to leave him to ſtruggle alone againſt theſe difficulties; but the native ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and the remembrance of the duke's former ſervices, ſtill influenced him in his favour. He anſwered the duke by a compliment of condo-

lance upon the death of the ducheſs of Bouillon; 1594.
and aſſured him of his willingneſs to aſſiſt him. If the king had thought that this laſt mark of his friendſhip would have recalled and fixed the duke of Bouillon for ever in his duty, the commiſſion of him whom he ſent with this letter would have ended in barely delivering it to the duke; and any inconſiderable perſon might have ſufficed for that: but this prince, accuſtomed to confer benefits only on the ungrateful, would make this deputation anſwer ſeveral purpoſes. He turned towards me, and told me, that in his opinion I was the propereſt perſon to carry this letter, becauſe if of itſelf it was not able to make Bouillon adhere conſtantly to his duty, the arguments of a man, who had a right to repreſent it to him ſtrongly, might perhaps accompliſh it; and thus, if neither produced the deſired effect, it was neceſſary to penetrate into the duke's ſecret deſigns, and to examine carefully the will and the ſuppoſed donation of madam de Bouillon.

This embaſſy ſeemed too like that which had drawn the hatred of the princeſs and count of Soiſſons upon me; and my firſt emotions upon receiving it were cauſed by my grief that the king's ſervice generally engaged me in ſuch affairs. Henry, who gueſſed part of my thoughts, forgot nothing which he imagined capable of leſſening what was diſagreeable in this commiſſion: he told me, That the ſucceſs which fortune ſeemed to annex to all affairs wherein I was employed, as a reward due to my fidelity, induced him to chuſe me, preferably to any other, to tranſact this buſineſs: That none of my ſervices were loſt upon him: And that he took extremely kind the attention I always ſhewed to avoid or break off any connections which were capable of cooling my zeal for him. Speaking theſe words, he embraced me tenderly; adding, with a kindneſs that went to my heart, that he earneſtly intreated me to be careful of my own ſecurity,

1594. ſince I ſhould be obliged to paſs through places ſubject to the Guiſes, and to preſerve myſelf for a prince who loved me. Princes who behave in this manner cannot be too faithfully ſerved.

It happened very fortunately that I was at that time very well provided with money, having ſent for remittances from Roſny and Moret, where my wife was; therefore I ſaw myſelf in a condition to ſatisfy, without delay, the king's impatience for my departure. Three hours after I had received this order I went to Bruyeres, where my equipage lay, and, followed by five and twenty troopers well armed, in four days I arrived, without meeting with any bad accident, within view of Sedan. The duke, being informed of my arrival, came to meet me as far as the village of Torcy, which ſeparates this little ſtate from France; there he alighted, and aſſumed a melancholy air to receive my compliments, and to read the king's letter. He loaded me with perſonal civilities; ſeemed charmed with the choice his majeſty had made; and perſiſted (notwithſtanding my repeated inſtances) to treat me as an ambaſſador. I was conducted to very magnificent lodgings, and all the expences of my retinue defrayed. He ſhewed me, with great complaiſance, the fortifications he had raiſed about his caſtle of Sedan, by which, he aſſured me, it would be impregnable. I was not of the ſame opinion; all the expence the duke was at to ſtrengthen this place, could not ſupply the defect of its ſituation.

The ſiege of Laon, of which the duke enquired ſome news, afforded us matter for entering into a more particular converſation. After reiterated aſſurances of his attachment to the king, the duke aſked me, if the many ſubjects of complaint which his majeſty had received from the Spaniſh Low Countries, had not determined him to carry the war there; and ſpoke to me of this project, as an affair he ardently wiſhed to ſee executed. He dwelt much upon the advantage of this war; upon the manner

manner in which the provinces of Luxembourg, Liege, and Namur, might be attacked; upon the correſpondences which, with this view, he carried on in the principal cities of Flanders; and upon the powerful aſſiſtance he offered to lead there. It was not difficult to believe, that he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to promote a war, of which all the advantage would be his: but it was far from being ſo with the king. His intereſt was not concerned in it; and with regard to him, this fine project was a mere chimera. Indeed the duke, fearing that at court it would be treated with contempt, omitted nothing which he thought might bring me to approve of it, by painting it in the fineſt colours, and with an air of diſintereſtedneſs capable of impoſing upon me. After having thus diſcourſed upon Flanders, he plunged into politics, and diſplayed all the powers of his eloquence in proving to me, that, it being the king's chief intereſt to depreſs the houſe of Auſtria, he could never attain this end but by keeping up a ſtrict union with the proteſtants. The king's late abjuration he ſuppoſed was but a neceſſary ceremony, which had only changed him in appearance; and which he thought to prove ſufficiently, by two or three ſtrokes of raillery upon ſome ſuperſtitious practices of devout catholics, upon the mendicant monks, and the equivocations of the jeſuits. 1594.

The duke of Bouillon ſtopped here, like a man who was afraid to explain himſelf too freely, and looked upon me earneſtly with a feigned inquietude. Hitherto I had liſtened to him without interruption; and diſcovered, without his perceiving it, all the ideas which roſe in that ambitious brain. But many things ſtill remained to be known, for which it was only neceſſary to let him ſpeak a long time; for it is not poſſible but that a man, who is at once extremely vain, and a great talker, ſhould, at length, betray all his ſecrets; I therefore forced a ſmile into my countenance, and aſſumed the air of

1594. one filled with admiration of his wit, his policy, and his eloquence. The duke's ſelf-love thus agreeably flattered, he did not wait for much intreaty, but reſuming his diſcourſe, he went on to make me ſenſible of the true intereſt of the proteſtants, in the ſituation affairs were at preſent in France. Here it became neceſſary for me to ſupply, by my own ſurmiſes, what he left unſaid; either becauſe the duke of Bouillon's expreſſion ſuffered a little from the conſtraint he laid himſelf under, for fear of falling into ſome indiſcretion*, or that he thought the affectation of a myſterious air did more honour to himſelf and the party, or indeed, that his diſcourſe was built on a ſyſtem ſo ſublime, and ideas ſo abſtracted, that he likewiſe was loſt in it as well as I.

I recalled the duke from this too elevated flight; and he told me in terms more plain, that the proteſtants were ſo much diſguſted at the king's converſion, that he could allay their apprehenſions no otherwiſe, than by declaring war againſt Spain conjointly with them; that, unleſs this was done, it would be impoſſible to perſuade them that they were not made a ſacrifice of, and for the future would be always expoſed to the violences of the French catholics acting in concert with the pope and the Spaniards. This piece of intelligence,

* The true character of the duke de Bouillon, is thus given us: "On "ſet purpoſe he uſed to expreſs "himſelf, ſays the writer of his "life, in ſo dark and perplexed a "manner, that he could give to "what he ſpoke any ſenſe that "he pleaſed. He pretended that "there were ſome nice conjunc"tures, in which a man muſt ei"ther be ſilent, or follow his man"ner of ſpeaking." Another maxim of the duke de Bouillon's, according to the ſame writer, was, "That a man ought to be very "cautious of giving any thing un"der his hand. A man interprets "what he has ſpoken as he pleaſes; "and he agrees only to ſo much "of it as he thinks proper, re"trenching more or leſs. He ap"proves or diſapproves as he "thinks convenient. But the caſe "is not the ſame with regard to "what is written," &c. M. de Sully was of a quite contrary opinion. We may find ſome politicians, who will not condemn the duke de Bouillon; but none who does not commend the duke de Sully.

from

from the proof he brought of it, it is probable the duke himſelf thought as falſe as it really was. He ſaid that Villeroi was commiſſioned by the dukes of Lorrain, Maïenne, and Mercœur, to propoſe to the king, who was then at Fontainbleau, this union between France and Spain; and that the pope would not have refuſed the king his apoſtolic benediction, with a bull, acknowledging him king of France, but becauſe he would have this union the preliminary. To this proof Bouillon added others equally groundleſs, by which he thought to make it appear, that the catholics had wholly eſtranged the king from the proteſtants, and had prevailed upon him to uſe them with great injuſtice. The grievances of the proteſtants thus eſtabliſhed, the duke was willing to inform me of the remedy they had thought proper to apply. They were preparing, he ſaid, to fortify immediatelly all their ſtrong towns, to chuſe a leader out of the kingdom, and within it (but the place he did not name) to eſtabliſh a general council for the affairs of religion, to which all the different churches were to addreſs themſelves, and which was to determine, in the laſt reſort, all the affairs of the ten other provincial councils, into which the calviniſt part of France was to be divided; and that the power of this ſovereign council might be abſolute and unconteſted, a protector or foreign prince was to be put at its head, capable of making it reſpected. 1594.

Whilſt he was talking of theſe ſubjects, the duke of Bouillon, according to the occaſion he had to dazzle, convince, or deceive me, aſſumed ſucceſſively the character of a friend and ally of the king's, a good proteſtant, or a mere relator of facts, but always that of a man conſummate in the politician's art, and the depoſitary of all the ſecret affairs of the proteſtants. He could not, however, involve himſelf ſo well in myſtery, but that I comprehended plainly enough, that all theſe ſchemes of high and low councils, theſe regulations ſo particulariſed,

1594. ticulariſed, might very probably have their riſe in the duke's own brain, and not in the ſynods of St. Naixant, and St. Foi, as he would have had me believe. This foreign prince for protector, eſpecially, ſeemed to me to be entirely his own invention, and in reality himſelf, who gave his own views for determined ſchemes, and whoſe ſole end (for what ſprings will not ambition put in motion?) was perhaps merely this; that, by communicating theſe deſigns to the court, as if the calviniſts had really formed them, and were ready to put them in execution, I ſhould raiſe the king's indignation againſt them; and by this artifice he would oblige the huguenots to take ſuch a reſolution as he wiſhed, but durſt not openly inſpire them with; which was, to chuſe him for a leader, whom the hatred and complaints of the catholics pointed out to them for a defender. All that happened in the ſequel has but the more confirmed me in this belief.

After having thus, as he imagined, made me ſubſervient to his deſigns, the duke reflected that he ſhould loſe more than he gained, if the king, of whoſe aſſiſtance he ſtood in need, ſhould entertain any ſuſpicion to his diſadvantage; he therefore reſerved a moſt refined ſtroke of policy for the laſt. This was to aſſure me, that theſe propoſals had indeed been made him, but that, far from approving them, or offering his aſſiſtance, he had done every thing in his power to prevent ſuch deſigns taking place; in which he had not the good fortune to ſucceed. Can any thing be imagined more treacherous and crafty? Certainly, if the duke of Bouillon was able to flatter himſelf, that theſe arts would leave me in abſolute ignorance of the affairs of the proteſtants, and the diſpoſitions of the ſeditious, he could not hinder me from perceiving at leaſt ſome of his own particular ſentiments with regard to the prince whom he betrayed.

I could

I could no otherwiſe anſwer a diſcourſe ſo full of artifice, than by confining myſelf to plain and ſimple truths, which is the moſt effectual way to diſconcert theſe ſo curiouſly-diſguiſed politicians. I aſſured him, in few words, that the king was not, nor never would be, changed with regard to the proteſtants; that he was willing to grant them all the advantages they could reaſonably demand, but that the preſent ſituation of his affairs would oblige him to defer ſome time longer thoſe teſtimonies of his friendſhip: that his majeſty had not forgot any of thoſe cauſes which Spain had given him to hate her; and that he would always preſerve a lively reſentment of them, even if he were not to enter into the common concern of Europe, to put a ſtop to the deſign of the houſe of Auſtria for univerſal monarchy; but that, in order to ſecure ſucceſs, it was neceſſary that all ſhould be quiet within his kingdom, ſince it might be expected that Spain would defend herſelf in a different manner, when ſhe ſaw herſelf directly attacked, than ſhe had done in a war, wherein ſhe had only engaged as an auxiliary. 1594.

I told the duke de Bouillon, that I readily believed all he had ſaid to me with regard to himſelf, ſince he muſt be ſenſible that the principles of honour, juſtice, and gratitude, pointed out to him too plainly the conduct he ought to obſerve with the king, to leave him a poſſibility of miſtaking it. He refuſed me the troops I demanded for Henry, nor would he permit me even to peruſe madam De Bouillon's laſt will; ſaying, that ſhe had ſealed it in a caſket, and exacted a promiſe from him, that he would not open it but with the uſual forms of law, if any one ſhould queſtion the validity of it; and that ſhe had afterwards obliged him to confirm this promiſe with an oath. It was not difficult for me to comprehend that any remonſtrances from me would be uſeleſs; therefore, my commiſſion being now completed, I reſolved to return immediately to Laon.

I was

1594. I was greatly ſurpriſed, on my arrival at the camp, to meet the king, who was going to hunt, paſſing ſo near the walls of the city that he was within muſquet-ſhot of it: but I was ſoon informed that both ſides had lain down their arms, the city having capitulated upon condition to ſurrender in ten days, if within that time they were not aſſiſted by an army, or at leaſt if a reinforcement of eight or nine hundred men were not thrown into the place. Henry made me keep cloſe beſide him during the chace, that he might hear all the particulars of my journey. When I told him that the duke of Bouillon refuſed to ſhew me the will of the deceaſed dutcheſs, he replied, that he knew from thence what he ought to think of the donation *. He entertained the ſame opinion of the duke of Bouillon as I did, who offers," ſaid he, " to be

* In order to deſtroy the ſuſpicions which the whole of this account might raiſe as to the reality of that donation of the dutcheſs of Bouillon, I will give you what the duke de Bouillon's biographer ſays on this head. " By her laſt will," ſays he, " ſhe appointed the duke " de Bouillon, her huſband, her " univerſal heir. It was currently reported that, notwithſtanding this laſt will of the dutcheſs, " the ſucceſſion would be conteſted with her huſband: the truth " is, Charles de la Mark, the count " de Maulevrier, uncle to Charlotte " de la Mark, alledged that this " ſucceſſion belonged to him, and " that ſhe could not diſpoſe of it, " in favour of her huſband, to his " prejudice. The duke de Montpenſier pretended likewiſe, that " the ſovereignties of Bouillon, " Sedan, Jamets, and Raucourt; " could not be conteſted with him; " as he had been ſubſtituted therein by Robert de la Mark, the " laſt duke of Bouillon. The duke " de Bouillon thought it more eligible to accommodate matters " with theſe two claimants, than " to engage in a law-ſuit, which " would divert him from the execution of his grand deſigns: the " accommodation was concluded; " and the ſovereign juriſdiction of " Bouillon, Sedan, and Raucourt, " remained in property to him." Hiſt. de Henry duc de Bouillon, par Marſollier, tom. II. liv. iv. This hiſtorian likewiſe ſpeaks of the duke de Sully's journey to Sedan, and of the protection which Henry IV. offered the duke de Bouillon on this occaſion. But here we cannot but obſerve, that it would have been much better not to quote, on this ſubject, Sully's Memoirs, than to diſguiſe their ſenſe, and conceal, as he has done, the objection that ariſes from the text of theſe Memoirs: and this ſo much the rather (it would be to no purpoſe to diſſemble it, after all that has been ſaid of it, and very lately, by Amelot de la Houſſaye, in his Memoirs, in the article Bouillon la Mark) ſo much the rather, I ſay, as Henry IV. and the duke de Sully, are not the only perſons who ſeem to doubt of the reality of ſuch donation.

" a medi-

" a mediator in diſturbances which he himſelf has 1594.
" been the author of." Nor was he leſs diſpleaſed at his refuſing to ſend the troops he demanded: but in the preſent conjuncture it was neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould diſſemble all theſe occaſions of diſcontent with the duke; and therefore, in public, he ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied with his conduct, and determined to maintain him in Sedan. With reſpect to the war with Spain, which I was commiſſioned to propoſe to him, he deferred deliberating on it to another time, in full council.

The count of Sommerive, Du Bourg, and Jeannin, finding it impoſſible for them to prevent the inſurrection of the citizens and the garriſon of Laon, who were incenſed againſt them as tyrants who had rendered their domination inſupportable, thought proper to yield before the time preſcribed for delivering the city to the king. They had no longer any hopes of aſſiſtance, after the misfortune which happened to a reinforcement the duke of Maienne endeavoured to throw into the place. This reinforcement coming too late near Laon, to have any hopes of ſurpriſing the beſiegers, thought it beſt to wait for night in the wood, where they kept themſelves concealed all day. The king hunting in that part of the foreſt at the ſame time, his dogs diſcovered the ambuſcade. The enemies, although eight or nine hundred in number, inſtead of ſhewing themſelves, or attacking the king, who had only three hundred horſe with him, thought they ſhould be able to avoid an abſolute diſcovery by ſeparating, the better to conceal themſelves: but the dogs ſtill continued to purſue them, and the king's troop arriving in the mean time, they were ſurpriſed in ſo great a diſorder, that our footmen and ſervants only, without any aſſiſtance from the three hundred horſemen, made themſelves maſters of them, and pillaged them entirely.

After the ſurrender of Laon, the king judged it neceſſary to take a journey to the frontiers of Flanders;

1594. ders; his chief inducement to it being the hopes that many of theſe cities would ſurrender to him at his approach. The event did not anſwer his expectations; and his majeſty drew no other advantage from his journey, than confirming in their allegiance Amiens, Abbeville, Montreuil, Peronne, and ſeveral other cities, into each of which he made a ſolemn entry. I can ſay no more of the tranſactions here, the king's ſervice calling me at that time to Paris upon affairs of leſs importance than the former, and which for that reaſon I ſhall not enter into a particular detail of, any more than of what paſſed in the different provinces of the kingdom. The reduction of Morlais, and Quimper, by marechal * D'Aumont, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh forces; the building of Fort Du Croiſic, by the duke of Mercœur, at the head of his Spaniards, to be a check upon Breſt, were the moſt conſiderable exploits of the two parties in Brittany. Savoy, Piedmont, Provence, and Dauphiné, continued to be the theatre of a † war always favourable to Leſdiguieres, againſt the duke of Savoy, notwithſtanding the defeat and taking ‡ of Crequy.

The duke of Maïenne, ſeeing Laon taken, almoſt all Picardy in the king's party, the chief officers of the league, and the duke of Guiſe himſelf, diſpoſed to treat ſoon of an accommodation with his majeſty, yielded at laſt to the advice of the preſident Jeannin ‖, who had long preſſed him to fix himſelf in

* He was killed the following year when beſieging Comper, by a cannon-ball that broke his arm to ſhatters; being upwards of ſeventy years of age: he ſaid no more when he found himſelf wounded, than theſe words, *I have got it.* He was generally eſteemed, and generally regretted. See his eulogy and great qualities in M. De Thou, b. cxiii.

† See theſe military expeditions in the hiſtorians.

‡ Charles de Crequy, ſon-in-law to Leſdiguieres, coming to the relief of Aiguebelle, beſieged by the duke of Savoy, was defeated and taken priſoner. This did not happen till 1598.

‖ I know not if the author does not here a little too lightly tax this preſident: at leaſt it has been ſaid that more than two years before, at his return from Spain, he had been the firſt to adviſe the duke de Maïenne to come to an agreement with the king; as being diſguſted at the haughtineſs and exceſſive vanity with which the king of Spain,

one particular province, and there make powerful efforts in time, to render himſelf independent; ſo that, after fortune had ſubjected all to the king, which he doubted not would ſoon happen, he might at leaſt have a ſecure retreat to ſhelter him in the reverſe of his. 1594.

Burgundy was the province * fixed upon by the duke of Maïenne; and he marched thither with his forces, after placing good garriſons in Dourlens, La-Fere, and Soiſſons. Beſides his being already in poſſeſſion of great part of this province, its contiguity to Savoy, Franche Comté, Lorrain, Switzerland, and Germany, from whence he hoped to draw great ſupplies, was a farther inducement for him to fix there. The pope, and the emperor, ſeemed to enter into his views: he might ſtrengthen his right of conqueſt, by a reſignation in form, which Spain would grant him ſo much the more willingly, as by that means ſhe would revive a claim upon Burgundy, long ſince ſuppreſſed, but never wholly renounced. All theſe probable advantages made it be believed by many perſons, that the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was upon the point of being reſtored. The duke of Maïenne's conduct in theſe quarters, the remaining part of this year, and till the month of April in the following, ſupported this opinion; and I had leſs reaſon than any other to doubt of his intention in this reſpect, after the letters I ſaw at Paris, in the hands of the cardinal of Bourbon.

But, unfortunately for the duke of Maïenne, the Burgundians were not diſpoſed to make choice of a ſubject for their maſter: they never before gave ſuch convincing proofs of their fidelity to their ſovereign. The duke of Guiſe beginning with endeavours to ſecure Beaune, by throwing a ſtrong

in treating with him, had ſaid, *my town of Paris, my town of Orleans*, as if France had actually been his own.

* The duke of Maïenne was governor of this province.

garriſon

1594. garriſon into it, the burghers roſe againſt them, defeated them, and forced them to ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle: and, as they might ſtill ſuffer great inconveniences from them, they fortified themſelves with barricadoes againſt the caſtle, and invited marechal Biron to come to their aſſiſtance, permitting him to lodge his little army ſix weeks within their walls. They afterwards attacked the caſtle in form, with a battery of twelve pieces of cannon; and carried on their works ſo vigorouſly, that they drove out at laſt the garriſon of the league. I ſhall give an account hereafter of the expeditions in Burgundy; at preſent I muſt leave them, to return to the affairs of the capital.

I perceived the cardinal's illneſs to increaſe ſo much every day, that, not doubting but his end was very near, I ſtaid at Paris to give the king immediate notice of it. He died without making that diſpoſition of his benefices * which he ſeemed to have ſo ardently deſired. His majeſty was afflicted at his death, having loſt a good kinſman and an affectionate ſubject. He wrote to me, that he was tired with the importunity of ſeveral perſons who coveted the cardinal's ſpoils; and that, to get rid of them, his general anſwer was, that they were already diſpoſed of. His deſigns with regard to theſe benefices were as follows: In the agreement with the abbot de Tiron, certain abbeys belonging to the chancellor and the governor of Pont-de l'Arche were yielded to him, for which thoſe two gentlemen demanded to be largely indemnified out of the benefices of the deceaſed cardinal. The king was deſirous that the abbé de Tiron ſhould releaſe theſe abbeys to the proprietors, and receive in exchange for them the archbiſhopric of Rouen, va-

* He was archbiſhop of Rouen, abbé of St. Denis, of St. Germain-des-Pres, of St. Ouen and St. Catherine of Rouen, of Orcamp, &c. De Thou repreſents him as a prince who loved the ſciences; he was eloquent, mild, and of an agreeable diſpoſition, but extremely weak. He died on the 28th of July.

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lued at thirty thouſand livres a year, but charged by the king with the payment of a penſion of four thouſand crowns, which he had promiſed to the chevalier D'Oiſe*, retaining for himſelf Gaillonhouſe, which he deſigned to purchaſe from the abbé; and ordered me to prevail upon him to accept of this equivalent. As for the abbey of St. Ouen, one of the fineſt benefices the deceaſed cardinal had poſſeſſed, the king, as yet, had not beſtowed it on any one; and he had the goodneſs to tell me, that he would not do it without charging it with a penſion of ten thouſand livres for me. 1594.

The greateſt difficulty I met with in managing the king's affairs at Paris, was to communicate his prudent œconomy to the directors of his finances, the ſuperintendant eſpecially. The abuſe of ſuffering the finances to become a prey to favourites (an evil, the ſource of which may be traced back to the reign of Charles VIII.) had in this laſt reign increaſed to ſuch a degree, that had a man of the greateſt induſtry, prudence, and integrity imaginable, been at the head of the finances, he perhaps would not have been able to prevent the bad conſequences of ſo prodigious a diſſipation: and, unhappily, D'O † poſſeſſed none of theſe qualities. His diſpoſition, naturally leaning towards profuſion, indolence, and voluptuouſneſs, had been wholly ruined by all thoſe vices for which the court of Henry III. was famous, deep play, unbounded debauchery, expenſive follies, domeſtic diſorders, and extravagances of every kind. D'O was on a footing with Bellegarde ‡, Souvrai, Villequier, Quélus,

* George De Brancas Villars, brother to admiral De Villars.

† Francis D'O, lord of Freſnes, Maillebois, &c. firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber, governor of Paris and the iſle of France, ſuperintendant of the finances, &c. "He ſurpaſſed kings and princes in extravagance and prodigality; for, even to his ſuppers, he had pies made of muſk and amber ſerved up, that amounted to twenty-five crowns." Journal de L'Etoile, Ann. 1594. p. 37.

‡ Roger de St. Larry de Bellegarde, Gilles de Souvrai, René de Villequier, Jacques Levis de Caylus or Quélus, Francis D'Epinai de St. Luc, Francis de Maugiron, Paul Stuart de Cauſſade ſieur de St. Me-

Saint-

1594. Saint Luc, Maugiron, Saint-Mégrin, Livarrot, Joyeuſe, Epernon, La-Valette, Du-Bouchage, Thermes, and many other leſs declared favourites: and the title of minion was all the recommendation he had for a poſt which the moſt careleſs princes think fit, for their own intereſt, to except from thoſe with which they reward ſuch ſort of ſervants.

Such was the man by whom the finances were conducted at a time, when minions and miſtreſſes being excluded from the council, one would have expected they ſhould have been put under other management: and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, the king, in his moſt urgent occaſions, had not even the privilege of dividing his own revenues with the ſuperintendant. D'O did not ſcruple to let him loſe a city or a governor for the want of a very inconſiderable ſum of money, while at the ſame time he denied none to his own pleaſures. Lieramont *, governor of Catelet, applied to me, to ſolicit the payment of his garriſon from D'O: I thought the affair of ſuch importance, that I ſubdued my reluctance, to aſk a favour of him, and acquitted myſelf of my commiſſion; but with little ſucceſs. The ſuperintendant, after I had left him, ſaid to meſſieurs d'Edouville † and de Mouſſy, that he had rather ſee this place in the hands of Spaniards than proteſtants. Lieramont was of that religion. Mouſſy, who was my kinſman, repeating this diſcourſe to me, I declared to the ſuperintendant, that he ſhould be anſwerable for the place, if

grim, Jean D'Arces de Livarrot, Anne de Joyeuſe, John Louis and Bernard de Nogaret, Henry de Joyeuſe, count de Bouchage, afterwards a capuchin, John de St. Larry de Thermes, or Auguſtus baron of Thermes. Tho' Souvrai had been one of Henry III's favourites, he ſhould not be ranked in the number of this prince's minions: he was a man of an acknowledged merit and probity. Henry III. ſaid, that if he were neither king nor prince, he would gladly be Souvrai. He refuſed the commiſſion with which Henry III. would have charged him, to aſſaſſinate the marechal de Montmorency, when in priſon. De Thou, b. lxi.

* Francis de Dampierre, ſieur de Lieramont or Liermont.

† . . . . ſieur d'Edouville, ... Boutillier, ſieur de Mouſſy.

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it were loſt for want of this payment. But this menace had little effect on him. 1594.

Fortunately for the king, a retention of urine delivered him, a few days after, from ſo bad a ſubject. And it is worthy of obſervation, that this man, who was poſſeſſed of more than four millions, or rather of all the money in the kingdom, which he diſpoſed of almoſt abſolutely; more ſplendid in his equipages, his furniture, and his table, than the king himſelf, was not yet abandoned by his phyſicians, when his relations, who had always ſeemed to bear him great affection, his domeſtics *, and ſome others, under the title of creditors, pillaged him with ſuch eagerneſs, and ſo completely, that a long time before he expired there was nothing left but bare walls in the chamber where he lay; as if fortune thought fit to finiſh with him at leaſt by an act of juſtice †.

The king returned to Paris to treat of a truce, which the duke of Lorrain requeſted inſtantly; and of an accommodation with the duke of Guiſe, who

* He had no children by Charlotte Catherine de Villequier, his wife. "Henry IV. playing at tennis with M. D'O, made him obſerve that the marker ſtole their balls, and afterwards called to him with a loud voice, "D'O, you ſee that all the world cheats us." Le-Grain, b. vii.

† "If," ſays M. de Grillon; "each muſt give in his accounts above, I believe that poor D'O will find himſelf much at a loſs to find good documents for his. It was ſaid that he died very much in debt, more than he was worth; and that there were five and twenty or thirty officers in his houſe when he died. The treaſurers regretted him extremely, and called him their father: it was even ſaid, that three of them gave each fifty crowns to Collo to encourage him to dreſs him properly. M. le Grand, his good friend, was almoſt diſtracted for his loſs; for he allowed him every year one hundred thouſand franks to ſpend. Madame was not at all ſorry for it; becauſe he almoſt ſtarved her; thoſe of the religion regretted him as little, for he wiſhed them no good. Madam de Liancourt mourned for him, becauſe ſhe could do with him as ſhe pleaſed; and if he kept her in favour with the king — M. Seguier, the dean, who aſſiſted him to the laſt, as likewiſe did his brothers, repeated to him, as he was dying, *Have mercy on me, O God.* Some of the laſt words he ſpoke were, Remember me to his majeſty; he will know better, after my death, wherein I have been of ſervice to him, than he did while I lived." L'Etoile, ibid.

1594. ſolicited it by the ducheſs * of Guiſe, his mother, the king's couſin-german, and mademoiſelle De Guiſe, his ſiſter. It muſt be confeſſed, that of all thoſe perſons who had been in arms againſt the king, the duke of Guiſe deſerved moſt indulgence. To the common motives of religion and independence, which ſeemed to authoriſe all things, he joined that of a father aſſaſſinated by the command of the preſent king's predeceſſor. It was madam De Guiſe, his mother, whoſe perſuaſions chiefly induced him to take this ſtep: ſhe was continually repreſenting to her ſon, that the revolt of the princes and nobility of the kingdom, which in the beginning was juſtified by religion, became criminal after Henry had removed the only obſtacle that could hinder him from enjoying his right of inheritance to the crown.

In any other age, which had not, like this, loſt every diſtinction between virtue and vice, this woman would have been the ornament of her ſex, for the qualities of her heart and mind. Her whole conduct was regulated by a native rectitude of ſoul; ſo that it was eaſy to ſee that ſhe had not even the idea of evil, either to act, or to adviſe it: and at the ſame time of ſo ſweet a diſpoſition, that ſhe never was ſubjected to the ſmalleſt emotion of hatred, malignity, envy, or even ill humour. No woman ever poſſeſſed ſo many graces of converſation, or added to a wit ſo ſubtil and refined, a ſimplicity ſo artleſs and agreeable. Her repartees were full of ſalt and ſprightlineſs; and the pleaſing, as well as greater qualities, ſo happily blended in her compoſition, that ſhe was, at once, tender and lively, tranquil and gay. It was not long before the king became perfectly well acquainted with the character of this lady; and from that moment he not only forgot all his reſentment, but alſo behaved towards

* Catherine of Cleves, wife to the duke of Guiſe who was killed at Blois. Charles of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe.

her with all the familiarity and frankneſs of a ſincere friend. He conſented to give the neceſſary paſſports to the ſieurs De la Rochette, Perigord, and Bigot, whom the duke of Guiſe ſent to propoſe his demands; and, wholly ſubdued by the inſtances of theſe two ladies, named, on his ſide, three agents to treat with the duke: theſe were the chancellor De Chavigny, the duke de Retz, and Beaulieu-Ruſé, ſecretary of ſtate. 1594.

Theſe three perſons, to ſhew their great ſkill in negotiating, began at firſt by uſing all thoſe turns and artifices which policy has unſeaſonably introduced in the place of that frank and open conduct, that without deceiving any one, produces the ſame effect. Their conferences laſted ten days ſucceſſively; yet at the end of this time the ſmalleſt preliminary was not ſettled. Madam de Guiſe, who was tortured by theſe affected delays, came one day into the king's apartment, when his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me, holding my hand; and turning the diſcourſe upon the treaty with her ſon, ſhe complained to the king, with her uſual gracefulneſs, but mingled with a little impatience, that he had employed three men, "who go," ſaid ſhe, "three different roads to reach no end; the "firſt, by never ſaying more than theſe words, *We* "*muſt conſider*; *We muſt adviſe*; *Let us do better*: "the ſecond, by not underſtanding himſelf, al"though he ſpeaks continually: and the third, by "never ceaſing to find fault." This was, in reality, the true character of the three negotiators. This lady, ſuffering herſelf to be wholly tranſported by her zeal for the king, and tenderneſs for her ſon, taking his majeſty's hand, which ſhe kiſſed, notwithſtanding Henry's endeavours to the contrary, ſhe conjured him to receive the returning allegiance of the duke of Guiſe, and give her the conſolation to ſee her family reſtored to the favour of their king. She ſpoke with an effuſion of heart ſo ſtrong and lively, that the king, affected by it even

1594. to tears, could not hinder himſelf from anſwering, "Well, couſin, what is it you deſire me to do? "I can refuſe you nothing." "All I deſire," replied ſhe, "is, that you will name the perſon whoſe "hand your majeſty holds to treat with my ſon." "What!" returned the king, "this wicked hu- "guenot. Truly I grant him you very willingly, "although I know that he is your kinſman, and "that he has a very great friendſhip for you." That very moment he took away the cogniſance of this affair from the three commiſſaries, and cauſed a commiſſion, under the great ſeal, to be given to me; not only for ſettling the treaty with the duke of Guiſe *, but alſo for the affairs of the whole province of Champaigne. It may be eaſily imagined, that after this the chancellor bore me no good-will; but it is the part of an old and artful courtier, to appear ſo much the more obliging and reſpectful to thoſe who are in favour, as the reſentment he harbours againſt them in his heart is ſevere and laſting. Chiverny †, indeed, excelled in this art.

The duke of Guiſe had begun with very extravagant propoſitions, which if he had inſiſted upon, would have rendered his treaty ineffectual. Doubtleſs, he was induced to make them, through his knowledge of thoſe perſons to whom he was referred: he thought, that to obtain ſomething he muſt demand a great deal. He claimed no leſs than the poſt of high ſteward of the king's houſhold, which the count of Soiſſons had been in poſſeſſion of ever ſince the aſſaſſination of the duke of Guiſe, when it was beſtowed upon him; to poſſeſs the government of Champaigne, which had likewiſe been given to the duke of Nevers; to enjoy alſo the benefices of his uncle, the cardinal of Guiſe,

* See M. De Thou, b. cxi. who gives himſelf ſome ſhare in this accommodation with the duke of Guiſe.

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny, chancellor of France, died in 1599, aged 72.

particularly the archbiſhopric of Rheims, then actually poſſeſſed by M. Du-Bec, a relation of Madam De Liancourt, the king's miſtreſs. He added ſeveral other articles; but theſe three gave riſe to the greateſt difficulties. The duke of Guiſe, being informed of the change of the commiſſioners, reſolved immediately to leſſen the extravagance of his demands; and wrote to the ducheſs, his mother, and to his agents, to conclude a treaty with me upon reaſonable conditions, and even at any price whatever. He had ſoon after a new inducement to finiſh the treaty, as ſoon as poſſible, which I was ignorant of: he had diſcovered that the city of Rheims (the moſt conſiderable preſent he had to offer the king) deſigning to make a merit of returning to its obedience voluntarily, had ſolicited the reſt of the province to do the like; and had already drawn great part of it into their views. The duke of Guiſe, to prevent this inconvenience, having attempted to place a garriſon there, the inhabitants declared that they would guard the city themſelves; and this refuſal cauſing a debate, they anſwered the duke's menaces by others no leſs haughty. 1594.

After the ſecond conference I had with the duke's agent, there was no mention either of the poſt of high ſteward of the houſhold, the government of Champaigne, or of the benefices; and thoſe three obſtacles being removed, I ſaw very little difficulty remaining. I propoſed to the king, the drawing the duke of Guiſe from Champaigne, to fix him in Provence, by giving him that government for a recompence; ſo that, his intereſt there being united with that of Leſdiguieres, and Ornano, who ſupported the king's party againſt the duke of Epernon, they might at once join to reduce the power of that formidable ſubject. The king conſented to this ſo much the more willingly, as by the manner in which the family of Guiſe acted with him, he judged he might depend upon their fidelity; and

1594. he ordered me to conclude with him upon this plan. I made the propoſal to the duke's agents, and, upon reiterated commands from his majeſty, uſed ſo much diligence in ſettling all other matters, that the next evening the treaty with the duke of Guiſe was concluded and ſigned by me for the king, and by madam de Guiſe, and the duke's three commiſſioners, for him.

The next day ſix deputies from the city of Rheims arrived at Paris; and, addreſſing themſelves to me, told me that the king needed not beſtow any great rewards upon the duke of Guiſe, not only becauſe Rheims was no longer in his power, but becauſe the inhabitants were ready to deliver him up to the king. They did not require to be introduced to his majeſty, but ſaid that they would be ſatisfied with his approbation in writing, or only mine; ſubmitting it to the king to grant them what recompence he ſhould think fit: and ended with offering me, according to cuſtom, a preſent of ten thouſand crowns, which I neither could, nor would accept of. I thanked them, in the king's name, for their good-will; and aſſured them that he would, with great pleaſure, receive this teſtimony of it. I deferred giving them an anſwer, till I had received orders from his majeſty, to whom I went immediately to relate all that had paſſed. The king was at that time in his cloſet, from whence he made every one but Beringhen depart, and liſtened to me walking, often ſhaking his head, and ſmiling, through a reflection on the natural levity and inconſtancy of the people. He afterwards took me aſide to the window, and deſired me to tell him what terms I was upon with the duke of Guiſe. As ſoon as I had informed him that the treaty was concluded, he did not heſitate a moment whether or not he ſhould obſerve it; but he would not, however, appear inſenſible of the affection of the city of Rheims. I introduced the deputies to him, whom he thanked as became a king, beſtowing upon

upon them a very conſiderable reward, with an air ſo gracious, that they returned full of joy and admiration. 1594.

The treaty with the duke of Guiſe being with the uſual formed ſigned by * Gêvres for the king, the ducheſs and mademoiſelle de Guiſe demanded his majeſty's permiſſion for the duke to come himſelf, and aſſure him of his obedience. I wrote to him to ſeek for no other ſecurity than that permiſſion; and he made no ſcruple to comply with my injunctions. He aſſembled as many of his friends as he could, and came and threw himſelf at the king's feet, with ſo many marks of a ſincere repentance, that the king, who penetrated into his inmoſt ſoul, inſtead of reproaches, or a ſilence which on ſuch occaſions is more terrible than the ſevereſt reproaches, made uſe of all his endeavours to reaſſure him: he embraced him three ſeveral times, honoured him with the name of nephew, treated him with the greateſt tenderneſs and freedom, and without affecting either to avoid or recal what had paſſed, mentioned the deceaſed duke of Guiſe with honour. He ſaid that they had been friends in their youth, although often rivals for the ſame ladies; and that the duke's good qualities, and a conformity of diſpoſition, had united them in a fixed averſion to the duke of Alençon. A friend, who endeavours to reconcile himſelf to his friend after a ſlight quarrel, could not have behaved otherwiſe; and all thoſe that were witneſſes of this reception, could never ſufficiently admire a king, who, with ſo many qualities to inſpire fear, employed only thoſe that created love.

The duke of Guiſe, abſolutely gained by this diſcourſe, replied to the king, that he would neglect nothing to render himſelf worthy of the honour his majeſty did the memory of his father, and

* Lewis Potier de Gêvres, ſecretary of ſtate. From him is deſcended the branch of the Gêvres; and from Nicolas Potier de Blancmenil his elder brother, that of Novion.

1594. the ſentiments he was pleaſed to entertain of himſelf: and from that time he took ſuch care to convince him that his reſpect and fidelity to him would continue inviolable, that the king, forgetting all which any other, in his ſituation, would have apprehended from the raiſing again a family which had made kings tremble, lived with him familiarly, and admitted him with the other courtiers into all his parties of pleaſure: for ſuch was the character of Henry, that that exterior gravity, which the royal dignity makes it neceſſary to aſſume, never hindered him from reſigning himſelf up freely to pleaſures which an equality of conditions ſpreads over ſociety. The truly great man knows how to be by turns, and as occaſions require, whatever he ought to be, maſter, or equal, king, or citizen: it is no diminution of his greatneſs, to unbend himſelf in private, provided that he ſhews himſelf, in his public character, capable of performing all the duties of his high ſtation: the courtier will never forget that he is with his maſter.

Madam de Guiſe entering the king's apartment ſome days after, when the duke of Guiſe preſented the napkin to his majeſty for a light repaſt which he made in the afternoon, ſhe again took occaſion to expreſs her gratitude to him for his goodneſs to her ſon, and told him, with a lively emotion, that if ever the duke of Guiſe was deficient in his duty and obedience, ſhe would diſinherit him, and diſown him for her ſon. The king, running to embrace her, aſſured her that he, on his ſide, would ever preſerve for the duke, and his whole family, the tenderneſs of a father.

The treaty I had juſt concluded with the duke of Guiſe did not fail to be loudly exclaimed againſt. His own particular enemies, and that ſort of people which ſwarm about a court, who have no other buſineſs than to decry the conduct of perſons in place, united themſelves againſt me, and being ſecretly ſupported by thoſe from whom the cognizance of this

this affair was taken, proclaimed every where, that I undertook this commiſſion only to pleaſe madam de Guiſe. The duke of Epernon was not ſilent on this occaſion; and whenever the duke of Guiſe and he were mentioned together, he conſtantly ſaid, that I had offended the one without cauſe, to oblige the other againſt all reaſon. Theſe diſcourſes were ſo often repeated to the king, that he was at laſt made to believe, I had acted with rather too much precipitation: however, he was not diſpleaſed with me upon that account. 1594.

It was not difficult for me to juſtify myſelf; which I did by an apology in writing, and preſented it to the king. I there defended my conduct with the following reaſons: That the king could not poſſibly grant the three articles before mentioned, without giving diſguſt to a great many other perſons; notwithſtanding which, he would have been obliged to grant them, if he had not had a government to beſtow upon the duke, which was the leaſt recompence he could expect, after reſigning Champaigne, and yielding up ſo many other claims: that with regard to the government which was given him, no other could be choſen, from whence fewer bad conſequences might be feared, than from Provence*. For upon a ſuppoſition that the duke of Guiſe might hereafter become capable of forgetting the new oath of allegiance he had taken, there was little danger to be apprehended from him in a province which had no communication with Lorrain, the Low Countries, and Burgundy eſpecially: on the contrary, although none of the duke's demands had been complied with, except the continuing him in the government of Champaigne, yet by that, the danger of perpetuating the war in thoſe countries was incurred: That it was the king's intereſt to reſerve

* The government was afterwards taken from him by cardinal Richelieu; who likewiſe took that of Picardy from the duke d'Elbeuf, and that of Burgundy from the duke de Bellegarde.

1594. to himſelf the power of beſtowing the government of Champaigne upon a man who ſhould be not only ſincerely attached to his ſervice, but whoſe integrity likewiſe ſhould be ſo well known, that the rebels in Burgundy might deſpair of ever bringing him to favour their views. With regard to the conveniency of fixing upon Provence for the duke of Guiſe, I added that argument relating to the duke of Epernon, which I have already touched upon. I recalled to the king's remembrance, in a few words, the many occaſions of complaint this man had given him, his repeated revolts, his intrigues to diſengage all the catholics from his majeſty's party, his inſolent boaſt that he would never acknowledge any ſuperior in his government, his laſt proceedings at Villemur, and many other circumſtances which certainly would do no honour to the hiſtory of this imperious ſubject. It was oppoſing one leader of the league by another, whom a thouſand motives, beſides that of his own intereſt, which ought always to be regarded as the moſt powerful, concurred to regulate his conduct by a ſyſtem quite contrary to his former views.

Without dwelling upon the orders his majeſty had given me with regard to the duke of Guiſe, nor the danger of a longer delay; although the treaty with him had not been ſo advantageous as it was eaſy to prove it was, I repreſented to the king, that he could not act rigorouſly towards a man, who had ſo ſteadily refuſed all the offers and moſt flattering promiſes from Spain, the dukes of Savoy, and Lorrain, and the other enemies of the ſtate*, to prevail upon him to continue a war, which, however ſhort a time it had laſted, would have been a greater inconvenience to him, than all he had granted to the duke of Guiſe. Nor ought it to be thought a matter of little conſequence

* The duke of Guiſe was hated by the league, eſpecially ſince the time he had killed with his own hand, in a tumult, the ſieur de St. Paul, his field lieutenant, who was much beloved by them.

(what-

(whatever his and my enemies could ſay) to gain 1594.
over a man whoſe name and birth would always procure him a powerful party. I agree with them, if they pleaſe, that this lord made after all but an inconſiderable ſacrifice of unjuſt claims, and uncertain expectations; nay I will reduce it lower, and aſcribe it all to the king's generoſity; yet, if by that means he bound to his intereſt, not a ſingle man only, but a family reſpectable for their alliances, their riches, and influence, it cannot be called an uſeleſs generoſity.

The king was ſtruck with theſe reaſons, and ſeemed greatly ſurpriſed at my exact knowledge of Epernon. He did not think it proper to permit this writing to be publiſhed, becauſe of the truths it contained, which it was not yet time to reveal. I ſubmitted, without any difficulty, for I never gave myſelf much trouble about the efforts of envy, having always looked upon that paſſion as an incurable diſeaſe. The duke of Guiſe's whole conduct for the future made a ſtill better apology for me: he began his government by ſo clear and abſolute a declaration of his ſentiments, that the ſeditious were deprived of all hopes of ever being able to ſeduce him. In all occaſions wherein the king's ſervice, or the good of the ſtate, required his aſſiſtance, he behaved with equal firmneſs and prudence. The reduction * of Marſeilles, which was with

* This town was upon the point of being delivered up to the king of Spain, by two of its burgeſſes, named Charles Caſault, and Lewis D'Aix; when the duke of Guiſe found means to make himſelf maſter of it, by intelligence held with Peter and Bartholomew Libertat, two brothers, who were alſo burgeſſes of the ſame town. They ſlew Caſault, beat the troops of the Spaniſh ſide, and let in, through the Porte-reale, the duke of Guiſe, who performed this enterpriſe with a great deal of conduct. See De Thou, b. cxvi. D'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. iv. chap. 12. Henry IV. upon receiving the news of the reduction of Marſeilles, ſaid, "It "is now that I am king." In the following campaign, the duke of Guiſe ſhewed a great deal of valour, in purſuing the Spaniards as far as Gray; and killed with his own hand, a trooper belonging to the enemy, who had given him defiance. Henry IV. embracing him, ſpoke theſe words, "Thoſe "who find old examples of virtue "before them, muſt imitate and

reaſon

1594. reaſon thought one of the beſt ſtrokes of that kind, was his work; and with the help of Leſdiguieres, and the counteſs of Sault, he ſo well humbled the haughty Epernon, that he at laſt obliged him to reſtrain his rebellious diſpoſition; and this proud ſubject was ſeen to ſubmit to the king's mercy, and became one of his moſt aſſiduous courtiers.

I never was unwilling to do juſtice to the duke of Epernon, to be among the firſt to enhance the value either of his perſonal ſervices, or thoſe of his ſoldiers at Limoges, Saint-Germain, Ville-bois *, Chartres, Boulogne, Montauron, Antibes, and even at Villemur. I am ſorry that the ſubject I treat on neceſſarily engages me in a diſcuſſion which may leſſen the advantageous opinions that have been conceived of him; but ſince this is a place where nothing ſhould be concealed or diſguiſed, what can, what ought to be thought of his conduct in Provence? Certainly, to aſcribe it all to a bigotry in his religion, is ſhewing the utmoſt favour to his reputation. His panegyriſts, who ſo loudly extol his moſt inconſiderable actions, ought to be a little more moderate when they reflect on his frequent revolts, and acts of diſobedience; or begin by eſtabliſhing it for a truth, that a ſubject may be irreproachable, yet fail in his duty to his king and his country, introduce diſcord and confuſion to gratify his ambition, and give to violence the name of right. If any panegyrics are to be beſtowed here, doubtleſs it is the king who merits them, who, after all theſe offences, received Epernon with open arms, and never excluded him from favours;

" repeat them, for ſuch as come " after." P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 192.

* See on each of theſe actions, L'hiſt. de la vie du duc d'Epernon, printed at Paris, Ann. 1655. Villebois is a town of Angoumois, which at this day is called La Valette. You may likewiſe conſult the ſame hiſtory, as to the reproaches which our Memoirs give this duke: but he cannot be juſtified in every particular; and even his own hiſtorian looks upon it as impoſſible. All that can be ſaid is, that M. de Sully took pleaſure to aggravate faults, which the laſt years of the duke d'Epernon's life have almoſt entirely effaced.

which

which in every reſpect, conſidering his behaviour, were indeed mere favours to him. 1594.

After the death of D'O, there appeared among the candidates a man, who, it was immediately thought, would have the poſt of ſuperintendant; this was Nicolas de Sancy*, who wanted neither capacity, nor experience, for that ſtation. Sancy might be very properly called a man of wit, uſing this term in the ſenſe that is generally given it, to denote vivacity, ſubtilty, and quickneſs of apprehenſion. But, as it is very ſeldom found, that an excellent judgment is joined to theſe qualities, Sancy ſpoiled them all by a degree of vanity, caprice, and impetuoſity, which ſometimes rendered him inſupportable. It is my opinion of theſe ſtrong and lively imaginations in general, that although they are commonly ſubject to two great faults, which are too much ſubtilty, and too little clearneſs in their ideas, and confuſion and unſteadineſs in their ſchemes, yet they ought not to be thought wholly incapable of buſineſs; becauſe it often happens, that they hit upon expedients which would have eſcaped more cautious and phlegmatic minds: but there is almoſt always occaſion to watch over them, and to correct their errors.

Sancy had long and uſefully ſerved Henry the third, and the reigning king, both in Germany and Switzerland. He had inſinuated himſelf into Henry's favour by great complaiſance, a ſubtle behaviour, a refined art in heightening his pleaſure, and by becoming neceſſary in his affairs of gallantry. Hence it was that he lived with his prince upon terms of the greateſt familiarity. That he might neglect nothing by which he thought he ſhould make his court ſucceſsfully, he inveighed, without ceaſing, againſt the diſſipation of the finances; and, as a flatterer generally goes beyond his mark, in railing at the ſuperintendant he could not help decrying likewiſe the ſuperintendancy, as an em-

* Nicolas de Harlay de Sancy.

ployment

1594. ployment ruinous to the ſtate: by which he gave good reaſon to call his wit in queſtion. But he himſelf oppoſed his advancement to this poſt by an obſtacle ſtill greater: he not only neglected to pleaſe madam De Liancourt *, then miſtreſs to the king, but alſo by an intemperance of tongue, to which ſuch perſons as he are very ſubject, he had offended this lady on a very delicate occaſion.

I know not whether the ſtory I am going to relate had ever any foundation in truth. However this may be, thus the ſtory ran in Paris: His majeſty having ſent Alibour, his firſt phyſician, to viſit madam De Liancourt, who was indiſpoſed (this was in the beginning of his addreſſes to that lady) at his return he told the king, that ſhe was indeed a little diſordered, but that he need not be uneaſy, for the conſequence would be very good. "But will you not bleed and purge her?" ſaid the king to him. "I ſhall be very careful how "I do that," replied the old man, with the ſame ſimplicity, "before ſhe has gone half her time." "How!" interrupted the king, aſtoniſhed and diſordered to the laſt degree: "what is it you ſay "friend? Surely you rave, and are not in your "right ſenſes." Alibour ſupported his aſſertion with good proofs, which the king thought he ſhould deſtroy, by telling him upon what terms he was with the lady. "I know not what you have done, "or what you have not done," replied the old phyſician with great compoſure, and for a complete proof referred him to four or five months from that time. The king quitted Alibour in great rage, and went immediately to reproach the fick fair one, who, no doubt, knew well enough how to new dreſs all the good man had ignorantly ſaid; for it was not perceived that any miſunderſtanding

* This was the fair Gabrielle, who was wife to Nicolas d'Amerval, lord of Liancourt. She was forced by her father, they ſay, to this marriage, which was not at all to her liking: but Henry IV. knew very well how to hinder the conſummation.

had

had happened between the king and his miſtreſs. 1594.
It is certain, however, that the event was exactly conformable to Alibour's prediction: but it was thought that Henry, after a more ſtrict examination, was brought to believe that he had been miſtaken in his reckoning, ſince, inſtead of diſowning the child which madam de Liancourt lay in of at Coucy, during the ſiege of Laon, he acknowledged it openly, and had it baptiſed by the name of Cæſar.

Sancy gave free ſcope to his wit, in relating this ſtory; and did not forget the circumſtance of * La-Regnardiere, who, having one day, as he ſaid, taken the liberty to inform his majeſty of ſome things that did not pleaſe him, was ſoon after baniſhed the court, under pretence that he had quarrelled with the admiral †. Sancy found ſomething to ſay upon the death of the good man Alibour, and would have thought it more natural, if it had not happened before the accompliſhment of his prediction. If he commented thus upon the birth of the ſon, he did no leſs upon the whole conduct of the mother. Sancy proved, to his coſt, what the malice of a woman, eſpecially a king's miſtreſs, is capable of doing: Henry loved him, and wanted to raiſe him; and although he was inclined to ſuppreſs the poſt of ſuperintendant of the finances, yet he would have preſerved it, merely to have beſtowed it upon him; but madam De Liancourt knew how to prevent it.

* "La-Regnardiere was a kind "of buffoon, half ſoldier, half "lawyer, and half gentleman, who "ſaid whatever came uppermoſt." It is in this manner he is ſpoken of in the adventures of the baron de Fœneſte, liv. iv. ch. 7. where we find many more ſtories related of him.

† The Journal de L'Etoile, and the Confeſſion de Sancy, confirm all this pleaſantry, as alſo the ſuſpicion of its ending tragically for old M. Alibour, the king's firſt phyſician, who was poiſoned, they ſay, by order of the king's miſtreſs; but all this is alledged without any proof. You may alſo read, on this head, what Sauval has told, on the faith of public report, and ſatirical libels, touching the intrigues between the fair Gabrielle and the duke de Bellegarde.

Inſtead

1594. Inſtead of a ſuperintendant of the finances, his majeſty compoſed a council conſiſting of eight perſons; theſe were, the chancellor de Chiverny, the duke de Retz, meſſieurs de Belliévre (who was ſucceeded by Matignon) de Schomberg, de Maiſſe, de Freſne (protected by madam De Liancourt) de La-Grange-le-roi, and de Sancy, who thought himſelf very happy to be one of the members * of this body. The king judged it neceſſary to give this council, for form's ſake only, and without any diſtinction, a titular head, which was the duke of Nevers. This form of government of the finances laſted ſome time, although with a few inconſiderable alterations, which I ſhall mention in their place: for the reader may expect in theſe Memoirs to ſee whatever relates to the finances treated with all that clearneſs and extent which a man, who has ſo long made them his ſtudy and employment, is capable of giving them.

The king was convinced, in the ſequel, that this new change in the council † was far from affording that remedy the diſeaſe required: ſmall as my experience was in theſe affairs, I eaſily comprehended it. It is not the government of one man only by which the finances are thrown into confuſion; ſince it is an inconteſtible truth, that, as they muſt paſs through ſome hands, the fewer that are employed, the leſs will be embezzled. The abuſe lies in the choice of this man, and in the nature of the finances: and therefore, to have this office diſcharged by many different perſons, is to perpetuate the evil. If in the whole kingdom, it

* M. De Thou and Perefixe ſay, that M. de Sully was for ſome time ſuperintendant before M. de Roſny: which ought not to be underſtood, in my opinion, but only of the authority which he aſſumed of himſelf among his fellow-counſellors, as M. de Sully tells us afterwards. The writers of that time agree, that nothing of certainty can be ſaid as to the ſtate of the council of the finances, till the time in which M. de Roſny was at leaſt declared the chief. We run no riſque in believing all he ſays on the head of the finances.

† Perefixe talks of this new form of the council of the finances, as M. de Roſny, Ann. 1598. p. 224.

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is difficult to find one ſingle man fit for ſuch an employment, how can it be expected that a great number will be met with? Nor is the miſtake leſs palpable in imagining that all theſe perſons bringing each of them one diſtinguiſhing good quality into their employments, the ſame effect will be produced as from a man who unites them all in himſelf; ſince that is to ſuppoſe, that this ſingle good quality cannot poſſibly be rendered uſeleſs by the oppoſition of ſeveral bad ones, either in himſelf or his aſſociates. In general, the predominant principle with which thoſe perſons who are inveſted with public employments enter upon the execution of them, is to raiſe and enrich themſelves and their relations. If this eager deſire of riches is not felt by them at firſt, it is inſpired, increaſed, and ſtimulated, by the great ſums of money which paſs through their hands: amidſt that dependance on, and mutual fear of, each other, every one repreſents to himſelf integrity as a quality not only uſeleſs, but hurtful to him, the honour of which is ſhared by his collegues, the inconvenience wholly his own. The king was far from being fortunate in his choice of the members of this body: ſeveral of thoſe who compoſed it, beſides being of a malignant diſpoſition, were in a ſituation that expoſed them to corruption: they had debts to pay, and domeſtic wants to ſupply. 1594.

His majeſty deſtined me a place in it, and had, for a long time, in his converſations with me, expreſſed his deſire that I would make myſelf thoroughly acquainted with whatever regarded the finances; but I could not poſſibly ſubmit to the imperious behaviour of the duke of Nevers, who very unſeaſonably aſſumed great conſequence to himſelf from his quality of prince, in a place where it ſignified very little. One day, when his inſolence had exhauſted all my patience, I took the liberty to intreat he would remember, that the family of Bethune was in poſſeſſion of the earldom

1594. of Nevers before the family of Gonzague. A man ſwolen with the pride of anceſtry could not poſſibly receive a more ſevere mortification. He often repeated to thoſe who would hear him, that my whole family were huguenots; and, to anſwer my anecdote with another, ſaid, that he had ſeen my grandfather make a very mean figure at Nevers. I ſuffered him to have his revenge, which could extend no farther than keeping me out of a council where I had very little inclination to be with him; and this ſatisfaction he had. The king, who had many meaſures to keep, told me, in a very obliging manner, that he was under a neceſſity of deferring ſome time longer the proof he intended to give me of his friendſhip; and I waited for it without murmuring, ſatisfied with the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, with a ſalary of two thouſand livres a year, and a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred more, which the king beſtowed upon me.

Perſons of the leaſt diſcernment being convinced of the neceſſity there was to introduce a reformation into the finances, the new council were at firſt deſirous of this honour; and a ſcheme for that purpoſe was propoſed by thoſe amongſt them who moſt valued themſelves for their penetration and method. Theſe were Freſne and La-Grange-le-roi. But after they had produced a very large volume upon this affair, it happened with that, as with the moſt part of ſyſtems that have been or may be invented; nothing more eaſy in ſpeculation, in practice nothing more difficult: and the king, whom they had flattered with mighty hopes, found every thing in the ſame condition as before, at the end of the year which he had paſſed at Paris, expecting daily the effect of their promiſes.

He was retained there to more purpoſe by the treaty with Lorrain, which, entirely forſaking Spain, concluded a league offenſive and defenſive with France. Sancy's ſervices were of great uſe in this treaty; and to him almoſt all the honour of it

was

was due. The king was no longer at a loss for employment, after the duke of Bouillon arrived at Paris; he came in person to press the execution of those schemes he had entertained me with at Sedan, particularly a declaration of war against Spain, which he made the basis of his advancement in the Low Countries. He used such plausible arguments for it, that, after the example of the courtiers *, he did not scruple to propose it in full council. He found there two different parties who did not approve of this war: those in whom a rooted attachment to Spain and the league still remained, and they were not few in number; and those who thought a war, in the present weak and exhausted state of the kingdom, was very unseasonable. These last had few partisans, but strong reasons on their side, if any one would have listened to them. 1594.

I would not incur the reproach of silence upon this occasion. I used every argument my reason could suggest, to dissuade the king from this war; but this prince, whom a natural propensity drew always a little to that side, thought he had now found the opportunity he sought for, to revenge himself upon a neighbour who had made it his endeavour to maintain the flame which consumed the heart of his kingdom. He was sure of troops from Lorrain: England and Holland, by their ambassadors, gave hopes of a powerful diversion; and, according to the duke of Bouillon, a single

* M. de Thou makes no doubt but the duke de Bouillon was the principal author of this war: and his historian entirely agrees, that in giving this counsel he far less consulted the advantage of the state, and the glory of the king, than his own personal interest, and that of the calvinistical party, who necessarily wanted a war, in order to obtain the favourable terms which were granted them by the edict of Nantz. Notwithstanding the reasons for declaring war against Spain, of which a minute detail may be seen in MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi. Vol. marked 8955, and in the king's declaration, that is set down in tom. VI. of the Memoirs de la Ligue: all good writers and judicious persons are unanimously of one voice, in favour of the duke de Sully's opinion as to the precipitation and imprudence with which Henry IV. conducted himself in this affair, the consequences of which might have been a good deal more fatal than they were.

1594. word from him was ſufficient to make all Luxembourg ſurrender: Sancy made great promiſes in behalf of the Thirteen Cantons: all Franch-Compté lay open to their ravages. The king was determined by all theſe flattering appearances; and in January, the following year, war was declared in form againſt Spain.

That kingdom ſeemed to give herſelf very little trouble about this proceeding; and anſwered only by ſhewing great contempt for Henry's council, and for Henry himſelf, to whom ſhe gave no other title than that of prince of Bearn. While ſhe made preparations to defend herſelf, her emiſſaries in France endeavoured to ſpare her the trouble, by an attempt ſo horrid, that it is ſcarce credible ſhe could have recourſe to it.

On the 26th of December, the king being then at Paris, in his apartments in the Louvre *, where he gave orders to meſſieurs de Ragny † and de Montigny ‖, who entered with a great number of other perſons; at the very moment when he ſtooped to embrace one of them, he received a wound in the face with a knife, which the murderer let fall as he was endeavouring to eſcape through the croud ‡. I was preſent, and approached in an a-

* According to others, in the chamber of the marchioneſs de Monceaux, at the hotel de Schomberg, behind the Louvre: but, in fact, it was neither at the Louvre, nor at the hotel de Schomberg, that this affair happened. A regiſter belonging to the town-houſe at Paris, quoted by Piganiole, tom. II. de la Deſcription de Paris, ſays, that the fair Gabrielle reſided, in 1595, at the hotel D'Eſtrées; and that it was at this place Henry IV. was wounded. This hotel was afterwards called l'hotel du Bouchage; and was purchaſed in 1616, by M. de Burelle, in order to lodge and accommodate the fathers of the oratory, who ſtill continue there.

† Francis de la Magdelaine de Ragny.

‖ Francis de La-Grange de Montigny.

‡ "Immediately the king, who "found himſelf wounded, looking round him, and ſeeing Mathurine, his fool, ſaid, *The deuce take the fool: ſhe has wounded me.* "But ſhe, denying it, ran directly "to ſhut the door, whereby ſhe "was the occaſion of preventing "this aſſaſſin from making his "eſcape; who, upon being ſeized "and afterwards ſearched, dropped his knife, which was all over "bloody." Thus L'Etoile ſpeaks of it. The MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi ſay quite otherwiſe in vol. 9033,

gony

gony of grief, ſeeing the king all covered with blood, and fearing, with reaſon, that the ſtroke was mortal. The king removed our apprehenſions by a compoſed and agreeable behaviour; and we perceived immediately that his lip only was wounded; the ſtroke having been aimed too high, the force of it was ſtopped by a tooth, which it broke. 1594.

The parricide was diſcovered, without any difficulty, though he had mixed among the croud. He was a ſcholar, named John Chatel; and readily anſwered, when he was interrogated, that he came from the college of the jeſuits, accuſing thoſe fathers with being the authors of his crime. The king, who heard him, ſaid, with a gaiety which on ſuch an occaſion few perſons could have been capable of, that he had heard from the mouths of many perſons, that the ſociety never loved him, and he was now convinced of it by his own. Chatel was delivered up to Juſtice *; and the proſecutions againſt the jeſuits, which had been ſuſpended, were now reſumed more vigorouſly than before, and terminated by the baniſhment of the

namely, "that the king, finding "himſelf wounded, ſpoke thus to "one of thoſe two gentlemen, "*Ah, couſin! you have wounded me:* "and that he thereupon, throwing himſelf at his majeſty's feet, "replied, God forbid, ſire, that I "ſhould entertain even a thought "of hurting or wounding your "majeſty: I have no weapon about me but the ſword by my "ſide." M. De Thou ſays, that the count of Soiſſons ſeizing the aſſaſſin, ſpoke aloud to him, that it was one of them two who had given the blow; and that the poignard was perceived to lie at his feet glittering by the light of the candles. Lib. iii.

* "After having been put to the "ordinary and extraordinary tryal "upon the rack, which he endured without making any confeſſion, and having made the "*amende honorable*, his hand was "cut off, holding in it the murderous knife with which he intended to kill the king; then his fleſh was "torn off with red-hot pincers, "and he was drawn between four "horſes in the Place de Gréve; "his body and members caſt into "the fire, and burnt to aſhes, and "the aſhes thrown into the air. "The ſieur Chatel, the father of the "parricide, was baniſhed France "for nine years, and for ever from "the precincts and juriſdiction of "Paris, condemned to pay a fine "of four thouſand crowns, his "houſe razed, and inſtead thereof "a pyramid erected, containing "the whole ſtory of the fact." L'Etoile, ibid. It is thought that the little ſquare that lies before the Barnabites, is the ſpot on which Chatel's houſe ſtood.

1594. whole order * from the kingdom. Father John Guignard † was hanged for his pernicious doctrines againſt the authority and life of kings: John Gueret ‡, Peter Varade, Alexander Mayus, Francis Jacob, and John Le-Bel, other members of the ſociety, ſuſpected of being his accomplices, were obliged to make the *amende honorable*, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment.

This attempt confirmed the king in his reſolution to purſue the war with Spain. He drew a favourable augury for his future ſucceſs from the advantage he gained in the firſt acts of hoſtility. As ſoon as the treaty between France and Lorrain was concluded, the latter immediately, and without ſolicitation, diſperſed her troops over Burgundy, under the conduct of Tremblecourt ‖ and Saint George, and carried terror into every part of that province. On the other ſide, the garriſon of Soiſſons, a place abſolutely devoted to the league commanded by Conan and § Bellefond, was almoſt wholly cut off by Mouſſy ¶, D'Edouville, De Bays, and Gadancourt the lieutenant of my com-

* "The jeſuits, in obedience "to the arret againſt them, de- "parted Paris, conducted by a "ſerjeant of the court: they were "thirty-ſeven in number, part of "whom were put into three carts, "and the reſt travelled on foot; "their procurator being mounted "on a little nag," &c. L'Etoile, ibid.

† He would not make the *amende honorable* to the king, alledging that he had not offended him. Cayet, ibid.

‡ Here the author is miſtaken. John Gueret was, by an expreſs arret, condemned to perpetual baniſhment; but there is no expreſs mention made of Peter Varade, Alexander Mayus, &c. who were compriſed with all the reſt, and without being particularly named in the arret, which proſcribed in general the whole ſociety. It is a glaring calumny in Moriſot, to have advanced, chap. 33. that Francis Jacob, to whom they had told that Henry IV. was juſt aſſaſſinated by Chatel, boaſted that he would have diſpatched this prince, if he had not been prevented by Chatel. I know of no hiſtorian who has ſaid any ſuch thing.

‖ — D'Auſſonville, ſieur de St. George, and Lewis de Beauvau, ſieur de Tremble-court, both gentlemen of Lorrain,

§ Bernardine Gigault de Bellefende.

¶ On the 25th of February, in the plains de Villers Coterets in Vallois. The baron de Conan is called Conas or Conac, in M. De Thou: and inſtead of Bays, you muſt read it Beyne.

pany. The duke of Montmorency*, to prove himſelf worthy of the dignity of conſtable, which he had lately been inveſted with, fell upon Dauphiny, the Lionnois, and Breſſe, with a body of four thouſand foot, and four hundred well diſciplined horſe; drove out from thoſe places the remainder of the troops belonging to the dukes of Savoy, and Nemours, took Vienne by compoſition from Dizimieux, who was governor of it for the duke of Nemours, and afterwards Montluel. Marechal Biron, after the expedition at Beaune, made himſelf maſter of Nuys, Autun, and Dijon†. The duke of Bouillon, as ſoon as war was proclaimed, entered Luxembourg, where, with the aſſiſtance of count Philip of Naſſau, he defeated eight or ten parties of horſe, under the command of Mansfield. 1594.

Henry did not doubt but that, by uniting all theſe ſeparate bodies into one army, he ſhould make whatever province he conducted it into tremble. It is certain that if he did this, he could not make a ſtand every where as before; but the expectations his majeſty formed from his firſt project, made him reſolve to prefer it. Having the choice of entering Picardy, Champaigne, or Burgundy, he determined upon the laſt, where meſſieurs de Montmorency, Biron, and Sancy, gave him hopes of great ſucceſs. Their ſecret motives for calling him thither were theſe.

The conſtable Montmorency had been alarmed by the great preparations he ſaw made by Spain in Lombardy, where the conſtable of Caſtile had orders to quit the Milaneſe, however neceſſary his preſence might be in that country, to enter France, and make ſome bold attempt there, after he ſhould be joined by the count de Fuentes, general of the

* Henry the ſecond ſon of the conſtable Anne de Montmorency, who was made conſtable in the year 1593.

† See all theſe different expeditions into Burgundy, in De Thou and D'Aubigné, Ann. 1595.

1594. Spaniſh troops in the Netherlands. Montmorency therefore apprehended that all theſe troops would fall upon him. Marechal Biron, who was in the ſame quarters, where, after ſeizing the city of Dijon, he had attacked the caſtle of it, and that of Talan, both of great ſtrength, was afraid, likewiſe, that he ſhould be obliged to raiſe the ſiege if he was not aſſiſted.

As to Sancy, his views were to advance his own reputation by the conqueſt of Franche-Comté, to which he was inceſſantly endeavouring to perſuade the king. Convinced by his own experience of madam de Liancourt's power, he ſought to make her approve this project: but the terms he was upon with this lady not permitting him to propoſe it to her himſelf, he concealed his own intereſt in the affair, and made uſe of the interpoſition of others. He cauſed it to be hinted to the chancellor de Chiverny, and, by his means, to a lady who could not fail of making her court by it to madam de Liancourt, that the king might eaſily provide a noble inheritance for her ſon Cæſar, by driving out the Spaniards from Franche-Comté, and giving him the poſſeſſion of it under the ſovereignty of the Thirteen Cantons, who would be induced by their own intereſt to favour the attempt.

Madam de Liancourt, I am perſuaded, could not flatter herſelf with the hope of gaining the king's conſent to ſo ridiculous a ſcheme; and durſt not even communicate it to him, though this prince's paſſion * for her was ſo great, that he ſuffered no one to be ignorant of it; but there needed no more to make him reſolve upon a journey to Burgundy, than this lady's joining herſelf to thoſe who adviſed him to it. Such is a court,

‡ "He went through Paris, "having this lady by his ſide; he "took her with him to hunt, and "careſſed her before all the "world." Journ. de L'Etoile, ibid. And we may judge of the attachment of Henry IV. to this lady, from the letters he writ to her: which ſee in the collection newly printed.

and

and thus are kings impoſed upon: from whence they may learn, that, whatever ideas they may have conceived of the wiſdom and abilities of their miniſters, to judge truly of every tranſaction it is the ſureſt way to ſtudy carefully the ſecret inclinations, intereſt, and diſpoſitions of thoſe who are neareſt to their perſons. 1594.

To remedy, in ſome meaſure, the inconveniencies which might ariſe from leaving the frontiers of Picardy expoſed to the inroads of the Spaniſh troops that were in Flanders, the king, who was not, like others, impoſed upon by the great promiſes that England and Holland made him, left meſſieurs De Nevers, De Bouillon, De Villars, and De Saint Paul *, upon this frontier, with each a detachment under their command; enjoining them to aſſiſt each other upon occaſion, and above all recommending a good intelligence amongſt themſelves. In caſe of a re-union, the duke of Nevers was appointed to command in chief. He provided with the ſame wiſdom and foreſight for the affairs at home, by eſtabliſhing a council, which, beſides the finances, was to take cognizance of all the treaties that were made with the provinces, cities, and governors; of all affairs relating to war; and of the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the kingdom.

As ſoon as his majeſty had publicly explained himſelf with regard to the forming this council, the count of Soiſſons wiſhed to be made preſident of it; and began to inſinuate ſomething to that purpoſe in the king's preſence. That I might remove his reſentment againſt me for traverſing his marriage, I ſolicited this title for him, which was more honourable than effective, and in all appearance would be of ſhort duration: but the king, whoſe averſion for the count increaſed every day, had already fixed upon the prince of Conti, and

* Francis d'Orleans, count de St. Paul, governor of Provence.

at

1594. at dinner declared his purpoſe before the whole court. Then turning to the count of Soiſſons, he told him, that, knowing his diſpoſition to be turned wholly towards war, he would keep him about his perſon this campaign; and ordered him to get his company of gendarmes in readineſs to attend him. The prince of Conti anſwered only with a profound bow, becauſe he expreſſed himſelf with difficulty; and the count of Soiſſons did the ſame, becauſe anger hindered him from ſpeaking: all his majeſty ſaid to him being accompanied with praiſes of his valour, and an air of diſtinction which forced him to appear ſatisfied.

The members of the new council were almoſt all the ſame that had compoſed the former; to which were added three intendants, Heudicourt, Marcel, and Guibert: the number was afterwards augmented to eight, by joining to thoſe three Incarville, Des-Barreaux, Atichy, Santeny, and Vienne, and a ſecretary named Meillant. Although the duke of Nevers was not now in the council, the king found no leſs difficulty in procuring me a place in this than in the former. He was afraid to propoſe it at firſt, on account of the catholics, who could not ſuffer a proteſtant in power: but he broke through this obſtacle three days afterwards; and the reaſon he gave for it to the other counſellors was, that the confidence which the prince of Conti had in me, rendered my aſſociation neceſſary even to themſelves.

The road his majeſty was to take being through Moret, I attended him ſo far, not ſo much to receive him there, ſince madam de Roſny could have done that without me, as to have an opportunity of conferring privately with this prince, and to receive his laſt inſtructions concerning affairs that might in his abſence be brought before the council, the members whereof did not long continue in a ſtate of friendſhip. My colleagues, perceiving by the private diſpatches I received from the

the king, that I was in poſſeſſion of his confidence, entered, through jealouſy, into a combination againſt me, looking upon me as one who would carry away all the honour of every meritorious act that was performed by the council. They ſought to diſguſt me, or to force me to ſilence, by joining in a conſtant oppoſition to all I ſaid; but, finding that notwithſtanding this behaviour I ſtill perſiſted to take my own meaſures, they had recourſe to another ſtratagem, and in our aſſemblies every affair was diſcuſſed but what related to the finances, which was referred to private meetings, either at the chancellor's or at Sancy's; and there all was regulated without my participation. I did not diſſemble my thoughts of this colluſion, but declared to them, that I had no deſire to mix in their debates; and, inſtead of ſigning their decrees, proteſted againſt them, and retired to Moret. The members of the council, who could not even invent any pretence for the diſguſt they gave me, being afraid of his majeſty's reproaches, prevailed upon the prince of Conti himſelf to intreat me to return. Being always naturally incapable of flattery, or of diſguiſing my ſentiments, I replied, that ſince they did not rectify the abuſes which had been introduced into the finances, although they were ſufficiently acquainted with them, I would at leaſt avoid the reproach of following their conduct, and would ſtay at Moret, rather than be a witneſs of faults which I ſaw committed with impunity. 1595.

The king, whom I informed of what had happened to me, found ſo much conformity between his ſituation and mine, that he thought he could not conſole me more effectually, than by complaining to me in his turn. He had indeed moſt ungovernable ſpirits to deal with. The count of Soiſſons, who had followed him with reluctance, revenged himſelf by repeated inſtances of his caprice and ill humour. But not all his endeavours could induce the king, however greatly he was offended, to order

1595. der him to retire; which was the point he wiſhed to bring him to: and he was at laſt obliged to go of his own accord, upon a pretence ſo very trifling, that it had ſcarcely the appearance of one. A report being ſpread that the conſtable of Caſtille was approaching, the king ordered the conſtable de Montmorency, and marechal Biron, to bring up the two bodies of troops which they commanded: the count of Soiſſons alledged that, by his poſt of high ſteward of the king's houſhold, he had a right to the chief command of theſe troops in his majeſty's abſence, and aſſerted his claim to it in his preſence. The king did not think proper even to requeſt a favour of this nature from the conſtable, and the marechal; and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to baniſh ſo ridiculous a notion from the count's mind. He ſolicited, he intreated him, as he would have done his ſon or brother (theſe were his majeſty's own words) but in vain: the count, who did not err through ignorance, quitted him with a diſſembled diſcontent, and prevailed upon part of the ſoldiers under his command to do the like. The king immediately diſpatched letters to his council, to take proper meaſures upon the count's flight: the ſame meſſenger left one for me as he paſſed by Moret. Henry did not yet know that I had retired thither; but we had agreed upon this expedient, to conceal from my enemies the correſpondence I had with his majeſty.

Three or four days after the receipt of this letter, my ſervants informed me that ſome ſoldiers were juſt arrived, who inſiſted upon quartering at Saint-Mamert, a village upon the confluence of the Seine and the Loin, dependant upon Moret, and diſtant from it about a quarter of a league. I ſent Camord to bring me intelligence who they were, and what was their deſign. They not only neglected to ſend me, by this gentleman, the uſual compliments upon theſe occaſions, but likewiſe anſwered him inſolently, that they had a right to quarter

quarter in any place where their horſes began to be fatigued, and all that could be required of them was to do no miſchief. They refuſed to name their captains, and only ſaid that they belonged to the count of Soiſſons. That I might leave theſe officers no excuſe for their rudeneſs, I wrote to them a ſecond time, telling them that, ſince they belonged to the count of Soiſſons, who honoured me with his friendſhip, they were welcome to quarter at Moret; that I would provide them lodgings in the inns and houſes of the town's people, where they would have greater conveniency; and juſt hinted to them that I was ſenſible of the manner in which they had received my deputy. Camord, whom I would have ſent with this ſecond meſſage, told me, that it would have no other effect than to encreaſe the inſolence of theſe officers, who came with a premeditated deſign to affront me; which he confirmed by ſeveral other circumſtances of his reception, that he had concealed from me before, to avoid a greater misfortune. Madam De Roſny, who was preſent at this relation, began to give way to female fears; and accuſing Camord with imprudence, ſaid ſhe had rather that the whole village of Saint-Mamert was laid in ruins, than ſee me, for ſo ſlight an occaſion, at variance with the count, and expoſed to a conteſt with his officers. 1595.

I obliged my wife to be ſilent; and after arreſting five or ſix of the troopers, who came to get their equipages mended at Moret, and to purchaſe proviſions, I again ſent Camord to thoſe inſolent officers. They received him ſtill worſe than before, and hardly forbore laying hands on him; mingling great threatening with their complaints for the detention of their ſoldiers. It was no longer poſſible to diſſemble: and all that now remained to be done, was to aſſert my authority, yet with all imaginable moderation. I ordered twelve other troopers, who had juſt entered Moret, to be arreſted; and in two hours time aſſembled an hundred and fifty arquebu-

1595. fiers, thirty horſe, and thirty foot ſoldiers; with whom I marched to Saint-Mamert, by the road that leads to it by land, and which has a thick ſhade of trees on each ſide; while the reſt of my troop purſued the ſame rout upon the river, in a flat boat covered with planks, and arrived at the ſame time with me under the houſes of the village ſituated near the river. The count of Soiſſon's party, ſeeing this double eſcort, detached ſome of their men to aſk me what I meant by it? "Nothing, replied I calmly, but that this village belonging to me, I come to quarter my ſoldiers here." The officers by theſe words underſtood that I was not diſpoſed to yield to them; and ſent again to make excuſes for what had happened, telling me that they had no deſign to quarter in any place that belonged to me, without my permiſſion; which the count of Soiſſons would never pardon them for. In effect, they paid for what proviſions they had bought, and remounted their horſes, without even demanding the priſoners, whom I ſent after them as ſoon as they had reached Dormeilles. They thanked me, and offered me their ſervice, which entirely removed my anger. I ſent the officers a dozen bottles of wine and two pies; after which I mounted my horſe, to go, in obedience to his majeſty's order, to conſult with the prince of Conti upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken with regard to the count of Soiſſons' deſertion.

This misfortune was very inconſiderable, compared to that which happened in Picardy. The jealouſy of command created a miſunderſtanding between the duke of Nevers and the duke of Bouillon. The counts of Fuentes and Roſne, who commanded the Spaniſh troops, and were doubtleſs informed of it, took advantage of their diviſion, and laid ſiege to Catelet and Capelle. The firſt of theſe two places wanted proviſions and ammunition; and the ſecond had a diſhonourable governor: but the loſs of them was chiefly occaſioned by the

two

two French generals *, who, through hatred of each other, neglected to give them any aſſiſtance. 1595.

Things were in this ſtate, when the governor of Ham, a place belonging to the Spaniards, being diſcontented with his garriſon, reſolved to deliver up the caſtle of Ham to the king, which would neceſſarily include the ſurrender of the city. He addreſſed himſelf to the duke of Longueville, and intreated him to ſend him a powerful aſſiſtance, having a very numerous garriſon to oppoſe. The duke of Longueville acquainted his general officers, and the duke of Bouillon in particular, with the affair, who promiſed him a ſpeedy ſupply. Upon this aſſurance, the duke of Longueville, that he might not by delay loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, haſtened immediately to Ham with d'Humieres †, followed by ſome Picardine troops, and threw part of them into the caſtle, and part in the adjacent places, endeavouring to reduce the city by ſcaling and petarding. The enemy's garriſon defended themſelves like lions, and repulſed them ſeveral times; and probably a fiercer action of this kind never happened. At length, the French animated by the bravery of their leaders, who found that it was in vain to expect any aſſiſtance from the duke of Bouillon, attacked the trench next the caſtle, carried it, and entered the city. The Spaniſh garriſon received them there with great intrepidity: being forced to give ground, they rallied again ſeveral times, and many little battles were fought in the ſquares, croſs-ways, and even in the houſes; till they were all, to the number of a thouſand or twelve hundred men, cut in pieces. But the French bought this advantage very dear; they loſt thirty of their beſt officers, among whom were

* Brantome juſtifies the duke de Nevers concerning the defeat the French met with at Dourlens; and obſerves that he advanced by long marches, and that he ordered them to wait for him; but the other commanders did not think proper to do ſo. Tom. III. p. 268.

† Charles lord of Humieres.

Du

1595. Du Cluſeau * and La Croix, and D'Humieres † himſelf, the beſt and braveſt officer in all Picardy.

Meſſieurs de Saint-Paul, de Bouillon, and Villars, thought they could not better employ their troops, during this interval, than by raiſing the ſiege of Dourlens, which had been attacked by Fuentes and Roſne, after the taking of Catelet and Capelle. The duke of Bouillon brought four hundred horſe, Villars as many, and Saint-Paul five hundred; and their infantry conſiſted, in all, of two thouſand men, which they determined to throw into the city, if they failed of driving the beſiegers from before it.

About half a league from Dourlens, Bouillon having ſent fifty of his troop five hundred paces before him, to gain the ſummit of a mountain, from whence they might have a full view of the city and the camp of the beſiegers, four of their horſes, who preceded the others, perceived a body of the enemy coming directly towards them, between the camp and the hill. This was, in effect, their whole army, in order of battle, which had got intelligence of our deſign. But theſe four troopers, being hindered by their fear from making a perfect diſcovery, made a falſe report to the duke of Bouillon, who, ſuppoſing it to be only a detachment, haſtened his march with his ſquadron. Arriving at the top of the hill, he plainly ſaw his miſtake. One party of one hundred horſe preceded two ſquadrons of ſix hundred each, which followed at the diſtance of about a thouſand paces, and were ſupported by three other ſquadrons, conſiſting of an equal number, and a body of ſeven or eight thouſand foot. The hundred horſe, perceiving Bouillon, galloped towards him, followed at a great pace by the two

* N. Blanchard Du Cluſeau.

† Nothing can be added to the eulogium which M. De Thou gives this gentleman, he ſays, book cxii. that the king and the whole kingdom lamented him: his life and illuſtrious actions fill the 8930th vol. of the MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi.

firſt

firſt ſquadrons, all armed cap-a-pie, and lances by their ſides; which left him no room to doubt but that the French were diſcovered, and that they would be obliged to engage, notwithſtanding the inequality of their numbers, the Spaniards being ſtronger by two thirds than they, unleſs he could conceal from them his little party. 1595.

Bouillon, ſending a gentleman to the admiral, to deſire he would come immediately to his aſſiſtance; Villars, who was bravery itſelf, without anſwering a ſingle word, armed himſelf in the midſt of his troopers, and making them put their helmets on, exhorted them no otherwiſe than by bidding them follow him; and Bouillon ſaw him in an inſtant at his ſide. Finding him in ſuch a good diſpoſition, he told him, that to prevent the enemy from diſcovering their rear, it was neceſſary to charge them with as much fury as poſſible. The admiral ſtaid not to be deſired a ſecond time; but, ſuppoſing that he ſhould be vigorouſly aſſiſted by Bouillon, advanced, through emulation, before his troop, and galloping intrepidly towards the enemy, ſuddenly attacked the left wing, threw himſelf, with his piſtol in his hand, amidſt that foreſt of lances, and carrying terror and diſmay through the firſt ſix hundred horſe, would have cut them in pieces, and perhaps have gained ſtill greater advantages, if he had been ſeconded with equal bravery: but Bouillon, on his ſide, made only a falſe attack; after which he wheeled about and retreated, and has ſince conſtantly maintained, that it was this only which had been agreed upon between the* ad-

* If we will not give credit to his biographer, let us believe M. De Thou, who entirely clears the duke de Bouillon; he, moreover, ſays, that the admiral de Villars was acquainted by the count de Saint-Paul to retire; but that he did not take this notice for any other than a kind of order of the duke de Bouillon, to which he refuſed to pay any regard, through a piece of vanity and bravery which cannot be excuſed from the imputation of temerity, liv. cxii. D'Aubigné ſpeaks in the ſame manner as De Thou, tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 9. Les Mem. de la Ligue, tom. vi. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. 1. The opinion of Cayet is, that the admiral de Villars would willingly have

1595. miral and him, although all thoſe who accompanied the latter have unanimouſly aſſerted, that he meant a true attack.

This miſtake, if it was one, had a conſequence as fatal as might have been expected: the enemy's ſquadron which Bouillon had attacked and afterwards ſhunned, was the firſt to fall upon Villars, who was then conqueror of his own; and being that inſtant joined by freſh troops, which came pouring on him in great numbers, his ſquadron, being quite overwhelmed, could find their ſafety only in flight. Villars, incapable of fear, and diſdaining to turn his back upon the enemy, performed wonders with a few brave men who would not abandon him; but at laſt, being attacked on all ſides, and ſurrounded by the enemy, they were all thrown to the ground and expired, pierced with a thouſand wounds, or maſſacred in cold blood *.

Bouillon gained nothing by this ſacrifice of his collegue: the victorious enemy attacked his ſquadron, the other, commanded by Saint-Paul, and the whole body of foot. Their leader had not inſpired them, by his example, with a reſolution to defend themſelves. Bouillon and Saint-Paul fled with their cavalry, leaving the foot without any means of ſafety; in effect, they were all cut off. After this, the beſieged city in vain demanded to capitulate. The enemy, intoxicated with their good fortune, would liſten to no propoſitions, but ſtormed the place while they were parlying, and inhumanly butchered all they found in it. I had this

taken advantage of the advice which the duke of Bouillon cauſed to be given him to retire, but that he was then too far engaged. Chron. Novenn. liv. vii. p. 504.

* The admiral de Villars was among theſe laſt: after having been made priſoner by ſome Neapolitans, a Spaniſh captain, named Contrera, entered on purpoſe into a diſpute with them about having him, and he made a handle of their refuſal, to kill him. L'Etoile ſays, that the hatred which the Spaniards bore him, from the time that he quitted the party of the league for that of the king, was the true cauſe of his death. He gives him the ſame encomiums as M. De Roſny. Journ. de P. de L'Etoile, Ann. 1595.

whole relation from La-Font, who, after the loſs of his maſter, returned to my ſervice; and the reader may be aſſured that it is abſolutely true, ſince this man deſerves all the faith that is due to a man of honour, and an eye-witneſs of what he relates. He told me, that more than three thouſand French were loſt upon this occaſion; and, what is truly deplorable, more valiant men periſhed, than in thoſe three great battles the king fought at Coutras, Argues, and Ivry: France, in Villars alone, ſuſtained an irreparable loſs; to the general grief of the kingdom, I joined mine in particular, for the loſs of a true and incomparable friend. 1595.

Another letter, equally worthy of credit, from the ſieur Baltazar, whom I had charged expreſsly not to omit the ſmalleſt circumſtance relating to the actions of the king's army, puts it in my power to inform the reader of all that paſſed. In this recital he will, with great pleaſure, behold a king whom the ſweets of royalty had not power to alter; his ſucceſſes were ſuch, in all their circumſtances, as could be attributed to nothing but his own valour and good conduct, and the glory of them was heightened by the oppoſition of thoſe misfortunes which happened in all places where he was not in perſon. This campaign of Henry's in Franche-Compté, in the opinion of the beſt judges, exceeded all he had hitherto performed.

I have before obſerved, that marechal Biron was employed in aſſiſting the citizens of Dijon, who held the enemy's garriſon beſieged in their caſtle. He arrived there very fortunately: the viſcount of Tavannes * having brought a conſiderable reinforcement to this garriſon, the beſieged became beſiegers in their turn. The citizens, preſſed on all ſides, and reduced to the laſt extremity, could only defend themſelves at the end of a ſtreet to which they had retired, and had but one of the city-gates

* John de Saulx, made a marſhal of France by the league, and lieutenant of Burgundy for the duke of Maienne.

1595. in their poſſeſſion, when Biron came to their aſſiſtance, and reanimated their courage; they once more drove out the viſcount Tavannes, and ſurrounded the caſtles of Dijon and Talan*. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions Biron was informed that the duke of Maïenne, full of grief for the ſucceſs of the king's arms in Burgundy, had ſo earneſtly ſolicited the conſtable of Caſtille for aſſiſtance, that the latter was upon the point of paſſing the Alps, with his army, to enter Burgundy. Biron, concealing this intelligence from the king, contented himſelf with only ſending to intreat he would come as ſoon as poſſible to help him to reduce the caſtle of Dijon. The king was come to Troyes when he received the marechal's diſpatches: and barely gueſſing at a circumſtance which the marechal had an abſolute certainty of, namely, that the conſtable of Caſtille, who, he ſuppoſed, would ſoon paſs into Flanders, would take Dijon in his way, to ſettle there the affairs of the league with the duke of Maïenne, he marched thither haſtily, and put every thing in motion, that they might find nothing more to do at their arrival.

It is not to be doubted but that theſe two generals might have ſtill been able to have prevented the king, and preſerved the caſtles of Dijon, had they not ſtopped unſeaſonably in their way to take Veſou, and ſome other little places in Franche-Compté, which had been ſeized by the troops of Lorrain. To this voluntary delay neceſſity afterwards added another at Gray, by the overflowing of the river Saone, which made it impoſſible for them to paſs it. To remove this obſtacle, the conſtable of Caſtille cauſed a bridge to be built over the river: but by his carrying on this work ſo ſlowly, it ſeemed as if he was afraid of engaging himſelf in the heart of France, with ſo many rivers

* About half a league from Dijon, where an Italian, named Franciſque, commanded.

behind him. The truth was, this general already knew that he had the king before him. 1595.

When the king left Troyes he ſent the count of Torigny* with eight or nine hundred horſe before him; with which marechal Biron was extremely pleaſed. Four days after, Henry himſelf arrived at Dijon, and, without diſmounting, went immediately to reconnoitre the outworks, and all the neighbouring places; eſpecially on that ſide where the enemy might be expected. He cauſed deep trenches to be made, and by that means cut off all communication between the two caſtles. This done, the king perceiving that notwithſtanding all the efforts he could make, the caſtles might ſtill hold out a long time, he went, according to his uſual cuſtom, with a ſmall detachment to meet the enemy, that he might retard their march, and give time to the reſt of their troops to finiſh their enterpriſe. Having ſo inconſiderable a number with him, he thought if he could find his enemies employed in their paſſage over the Saone, it would afford him a favourable opportunity: he therefore appointed Lux and †Fontaine-Françoiſe for a rendezvous for the reſt of his troops, and marched before with only three hundred horſe, half of whom were arquebuſiers; and with this little eſcort advanced to the Vigenne, near Saint-Seine: from thence he detached the marquis of Mirebeau ‡, with fifty or ſixty horſe, to get intelligence; and in the mean time he paſſed the river of Vigenne with a hundred, or a hundred and twenty horſe; deſigning only to reconnoitre the ground, and the form of a country, where he might poſſibly be obliged to come to an action.

He had not marched more than a league, when he ſaw Mirebeau return in great diſorder: who told

* Odet de Matignon, count de Torigny, eldeſt ſon to the marechal.

† Upon the frontiers of Burgundy and Franche-Compté: this expedition happened in the beginning of June.

‡ James Cabot, marquis of Mirebeau, and count de Charni, counſellor of ſtate, and lieutenant in Burgundy for the king, died in 1670.

1595. him, that he had been charged by three or four hundred horſe; which had prevented him from getting a full view of the enemy; but added, that he believed thoſe four hundred horſe had been ſent to ſeize the poſt of Saint-Seine, and that they were followed cloſe by the whole army. Biron, who arrived that inſtant, offered to go and make a clearer diſcovery. At the diſtance of a thouſand paces he found, upon a little hill, an advanced guard, conſiſting of ſixty horſe, which he attacked; and taking their place, ſaw plainly the whole Spaniſh army marching in order of battle; and in particular, a body of four hundred horſe, which, advancing before the reſt of the army, purſued a party of one hundred and fifty French. This was the party commanded by D'Auſſonville*, whom his majeſty had ſent to make diſcoveries on the other ſide. D'Auſſonville, by flying, turned the arms of the purſuers on Biron. The enemy's detachment dividing into two bands, attacked him on the right and left, doubtleſs with the ſame intention as Biron, to diſcover what forces were in the rear. The difference between them was, that the enemies, being ſupported by near ſix hundred horſe, were two thirds ſuperior in number to the two ſquadrons commanded by Biron and Mirebeau, which made up only three hundred.

Notwithſtanding this inequality, Biron continued to make a ſtand: he ſeparated his three hundred horſe into three equal platoons, placing Mirebeau, with the firſt, on the right; the baron of Lux†, with the ſecond, on the left; and poſted himſelf, with the third, in the middle. The enemy attacked each ſide at once, with a hundred and fifty men: Lux ſuffered greatly, and was even thrown to the

* . . . . baron D'Auſſonville de Saint George, a gentleman of Lorrain.

† Edme de Malain, baron de Lux or de Luz: he was a counſellor of ſtate, captain of fifty gens d'armes, and the king's lieutenant in Burgundy. We ſhall ſpeak of him when we come to mention marechal Biron's conſpiracy, in which he was an accomplice.

ground;

ground, with many others: Biron, having the advantage in his place, flew to his aſſiſtance, and reanimated his troops: but was himſelf charged with ſuch impetuoſity by all the enemy's ſquadrons united together, towards whom he ſaw others from the main body of the army ſtill advancing, that he was obliged to retreat. This retreat, as ſoon as the enemy's horſe drew nearer, was changed into a real flight; in which condition he came within view of the king, who immediately ſent a hundred horſe to ſupport him. Nothing is more difficult than to ſtop the flight of a ſquadron when the enemy is at their heels; the laſt hundred men catched the contagion of fear, and returned flying with thoſe they went to aſſiſt. 1595.

The king now finding that all depended upon himſelf, advanced towards the fugitives, without taking time to put on his helmet, expoſed himſelf to the fury of the victorious ſquadrons, which conſiſted of more than eight hundred men, called his principal officers by their names, and throwing himſelf every where, without any regard to his own perſon, obliged ſome of the fugitives at laſt to ſtop. He compoſed two bodies of the whole, and putting himſelf at the head of a hundred and fifty horſe, returned to the charge on one ſide, while La-Tremouille *, with a like number, did the ſame, by his order, on the other: had it not been for ſuch an exertion of courage, it is probable, that not one of thoſe three hundred men, engaged thus on the farther ſide of a river, with a victorious body of cavalry in front, would have eſcaped. The king †,

* Claude de la Trémouille, duke of Thouars.

† The king ſaid, that upon other occaſions and emergencies into which he had happened to fall, he fought for victory, but here he contended for his life. Perefixe, Matthieu, Cayet, Le Graine, and D'Aubigné, relate the actions of this day in the ſame manner; but M. De Thou, and vol. 8929. of the royal MSS. with ſome little difference. D'Aubigné ſays, that the king did not ſhew himſelf entirely ſatisfied, that only the dukes de la Tremouille and D'Elbeuf joined together with a good grace, "to bruſh off," ſays he, "the dew before his ma-"jeſty." Tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 8. But according to De Thou, he com-

1595. giving his ſoldiers an example, threw himſelf bare-headed, amidſt ſix of the enemy's ſquadrons, broke thro' them, and forced them to give ground. Biron, taking advantage of this opportunity, rallied about a hundred and twenty horſe, and returned to ſupport the king, and all together drove the enemy's horſe back to the main body of the duke of Maïenne's army.

Henry would not have ſuffered his ardour to have tranſported him ſo far, but that he did not immediately perceive, that a wood on each ſide of him was crouded with fuſileers, to whoſe diſcharge he had like to have been expoſed, and would have been ſurrounded by them, if, in the heat of the fight, he had attacked the Spaniſh army: he therefore ſtopped his career, and kept himſelf upon his guard. At that moment he perceived two other bodies of horſe, who came out of one of thoſe woods to ſtrengthen the advanced guard, which he had vanquiſhed. This was one of thoſe critical moments, when the leaſt want of precaution brings on inevitable ruin. The king, who with one glance perceived the deſign of theſe troops, ordered his to halt and thicken their ranks, that they might be

mended much before the parliament, Mirebeau, La Curée, and many others.

" I have no need of counſel but " of aſſiſtance," replied Hen. IV. to thoſe who adviſed him to make his eſcape on a good turkiſh horſe that was got ready for him; " there " is more hazard in the flight than " the chace." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 187. " Mainville," adds this hiſtorian, " who ſtood near " him, and had his piſtol ready " charged for the firſt of the enemy " that came near him, let fire at " one ſo a propos, that he ſhot him " quite through the head; and the " ball came whiſtling ſo about the " king's ears, that he never ſpoke " of a piſtol but he remembered " this report, ſaying, that it was " the loudeſt he had ever heard, " having been charged with two " ſteel balls." According to the account of the ſame hiſtorian, the duke de Maïenne demanded only four hundred horſe of the Spaniſh general to attack the king's troops; which the Spaniard refuſed him, being perſuaded that Henry only wanted to draw him into an ambuſcade. This diſtruſt of the enemy was the occaſion of his eſcape at Fontaine Françoiſe, as it had been before at Aumale. And what is more ſurpriſing is, that this prince only loſt ſix men in ſo hot an action; while on the enemy's ſide were killed one hundred and twenty, beſides two hundred wounded, and ſixty taken priſoners. Chron. Novenn. liv. vii. p. 497.

in

in a condition to receive them; for in the heat of his victory he overturned all that oppoſed him, and found himſelf at large before all thoſe battalions, who were aſtoniſhed at the miracles they ſaw him perform. Henry knew this ſurprize would not laſt long, and that he would have the fury of a whole army to ſuſtain, animated by the ſight of a handful of foes, to repair the ſhame of ſuch an aſtoniſhing defeat; he therefore took advantage of the enemy's inaction, to regain at leaſt his firſt poſt, without being purſued; and diſengaged himſelf from the midſt of the enemy's army with ſo much order and ſuperiority, that they could make themſelves no amends for their loſs. And this prince, in one day, and almoſt in one moment, acquired the honour of the moſt glorious victory, and fineſt retreat, that ever any hiſtory afforded an example of. 1595.

On his arrival, he found the count of Chiverny *, the chevalier d'Oiſe, meſſieurs de Vitry, de Clermont, de Riſſe, d'Arambure, de La-Curée, D'Heures, de Saint-Geran, and de La-Boulaye, with each his company, which being joined to thoſe troops the king had before, compoſed a body of eight hundred horſe. After this reinforcement, the enemy durſt not attack them, being perſuaded that his whole army was not far off; and not yet recovered from their conſternation at the defeat of their men by a platoon ſcarce the ſixth part of their number, they turned back, placing the infantry in the rear to cover their cavalry. The king followed them cloſe, and harraſſed them continually, till they had repaſſed the Saone upon the bridge

* Henry Huralt, count de Cheverny, George de Brancas-Villars, Louis de l'Hôpital-Vitry, George de Clermont D'Amboiſe, ... de Crequy de Riſſe, Jean D'Arumbure, and Gilbert Filhet de La-Curée, who alſo was in the engagement, where he fought without armour, and badly mounted. A voice, which he thought to be the king's, called to him, "Take "care, Curé; when, lo, he found it was one of the enemy, who was juſt ready to run him through with his lance; but he killed him. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi.

they

1595. they had built below Gray. Not daring to attempt the paſſage again, Burgundy, by this exploit, remained wholly at the king's diſcretion: he reduced it all in a few days, except the Seure *, and ſeized ſeveral little towns in Franche-Compté, which he releaſed, at the intreaty of the Swiſs. Theſe advantages were all owing to the battle of Fontaine-Françoiſe.

Henry, when he learnt the defeat of his forces in Picardy, confeſſed, that thoſe advantages, great as they were, did not equal that loſs. He quitted Burgundy and the Lyonnois immediately, and marched haſtily towards Paris. Paſſing by Moret, I acquainted him with my motives for leaving the council: he approved of them, and was of opinion, that the confidence which the other members of it perceived he repoſed in me, and the deſire I had to make myſelf ſtill more worthy that diſtinction, had drawn their enmity upon me. He had the goodneſs to conſole me for it, by aſſuring me that my ſufferings upon this occaſion would only encreaſe his friendſhip for me. I agreed with his majeſty, that at a time when the check his forces received at Dourlens might occaſion a revolution, there was a neceſſity to diſſemble his diſguſt, and to avoid accuſing any one. It was to me only that the king complained of the authors of that fatal accident, and deplored the dangerous effects of enmity between leaders, which is almoſt the ſole cauſe of the greateſt diſaſters in war. He appeared ſenſibly affected with the loſs of admiral Villars, and never mentioned him but with the higheſt praiſes: nor could he be deceived by any thing which the intereſted parties advanced, to place all that had happened to the account of the deceaſed.

It was then that this prince was convinced, and acknowledged to me, that he had yielded unrea-

* Seure, a town upon the river Saone: it has changed its name, and now is called Beſſegarde.

ſonably

ſonably to propoſals for a war, the ſucceſs of which he had been perſuaded was infallible: he was even candid enough to treat it as an error which might plunge France once more into greater miſeries than thoſe ſhe had juſt been delivered from. By ſpeaking thus, the king only reflected on the greatneſs of a loſs, ſuch as Catelet, Capelle Ardres*, Dourlens, Cambray, from which Balagny had been juſt driven; and Calais eſpecially, which though not yet taken was looked upon as already loſt. As for me, I thought the kingdom was then in moſt danger, when the king, by an aſtoniſhing inſtance of valour and good fortune, preſerved Burgundy and his own life. From that time Henry uſed to ſay, that a declaration of war was one of thoſe affairs that required the greateſt deliberation, and could never be ſufficiently enough attended to. From this example, princes may ſtill draw another leſſon no leſs uſeful, which is, that they ought never to entertain a perſonal hatred for their neighbours, and that prudence, on certain occaſions, requires them to ſeem diſpoſed for a reconciliation, notwithſtanding the moſt violent, and even the moſt juſt reſentment. 1595.

The king was careful to avoid diſcovering his thoughts in public; on the contrary, he endeavoured to revive the courage of thoſe who ſeemed moſt depreſt. To the Pariſians, who made him compliments of condolance upon his loſs, he replied, that it might be eaſily repaired, provided they would join actions to words. They made him great offers; but his majeſty, who had had frequent proofs of the little dependance he could have on them, took his own meaſures, and without waiting for the accompliſhment of their promiſes, left Paris the next day, with the ſatisfaction

* Ardres was ſurrendered to the enemy by the count de Belin, almoſt without making any defence; for which he was diſgraced, turned out of his places, and ſent home to his eſtate, &c. Bongars Epiſt. 75, ad Camer. Moriſot, ch. 33.

of

1595. of hearing before he went, by a courier from Rome, that the pope had been at laſt prevailed upon to grant him the abſolution * he had ſo long ſolicited. In the preſent conjuncture, this news was of the utmoſt importance.

To this abſolution the holy father annexed the following conditions †: That the king ſhould ex-

* "What made the pope, ſays "M. De Perefixe, delay giving ab- "ſolution ſo long was, ſaid he, "becauſe that he alone had the "power of reſtoring penitents: "and he was very much diſpleaſed "that the prelates of France had "taken upon them to abſolve him, "though they had only done it "proviſionally, *ad cautelam*."

† Beſides theſe conditions, the original of which may be ſeen in vol. 8778 of the MSS, de la Bibliot. du Roi, where the act of abſolution of Henry IV. is ſet down at length, in Italian, the holy father impoſes therein for penance upon this prince, to hear on every Sunday and feſtival, a conventual maſs in the chapel royal, and private maſs every week day, to ſay the roſary every Sunday, the chapelet every Saturday, and the litanies every Wedneſday, to faſt every Friday, to confeſs and communicate publicly at leaſt four times a year. I obſerve, in this act, that the pope, after having given this prince abſolution, then entitles him only the king of France and Navarre. At each verſe of the *Miſerere*, the holy father gave a light touch of the penitentiary crook on the ſhoulders of M. Du-Perron, and M. D'Oſſat, who are therein called *Procuratori di Navarra*: this is but an ordinary formality in this ſort of ceremony; upon which the proteſtant writers have not failed to comment with great malignity, by ſaying, that Henry IV. had ſubmitted to receive laſhes of the whip from the procurator, and other ſuch like calumnies: but theſe malicious pleaſantries have not been able to impoſe upon any, ſince M. de Thou and all the ſenſible writers have ſhewn that they were altogether unjuſt and without foundation. M. de Sully, as far as appears, had got over this popular error; but I know not if he obſerves the ſame equity with regard to M. D'Oſſat.

What he ſays here, and in many other places of theſe Memoirs, excited in me a curioſity to read carefully the collection of this cardinal's letters, who is reputed a mongſt us to have been as good a Frenchman as an able ſtateſman. I will ſpeak freely my mind as to each grievance which furniſhes the duke de Sully with occaſion of attacking him, according as they fall in my way. And to begin with that of Henry IVth's abſolution, it appears to me, after examining all he ſays on this head, page 45, 48, 105, 107, 115, 129, 208, &c. of the old edition in folio, that we cannot but acknowledge on one hand, that he met with great ſcruples in the pope's breaſt, and real difficulties on the part of the ſacred college; that he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity and with equal ſucceſs to ſurmount them; and that any but he would have had much to do to have conquered them; as is evident from what happened to the duke de Nevers, the cardinal de Retz, the marquis de Piſany, and others: that for his own part he is very far from approving the many ſubterfuges to which the court of Rome had of-

clude

clude the proteſtants from all employments and dignities, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs them entirely: That he ſhould reſtore the celebration of maſs in Bearn, and oblige the huguenots to make reſtitution to the catholics of all the effects which had been taken from the eccleſiaſtics: That he ſhould prevail upon the prince of Condé to embrace the Roman catholic religion: That he ſhould publiſh and cauſe the council of Trent to be received: and laſtly, That the jeſuits ſhould be again eſtabliſhed in France. Theſe conditions which regarded the proteſtants and the council of Trent were not complied with, the reſt were. 1595.

Thoſe perſons who thought the king received laws from the pope upon this occaſion, ought to lay the blame upon Du-Perron, and ſtill more upon Arnaud D'Oſſat, then agent for this affair at Rome. Theſe two eccleſiaſtics were ſo far from rejecting theſe conditions, that they would have been grieved, if they had not been inſiſted upon; if any credit may be given to a memorial which was many years afterwards ſent me from Rome, and which I ſhall ſpeak of fully in its place: it af-

ten recourſe in their formalities; and even that all this chicane made him often uneaſy, as alſo the unfair dealing which, he complains, they uſed in the bull of abſolution. However, in oppoſition to all this, a man may perceive on the other hand in theſe very places, and ſtill more in all thoſe paſſages that in any meaſure relate to the proteſtants, the jeſuits, or the council of Trent, &c. that his eminence was not at all diſturbed, that the affair of the king's abſolution had paſſed under the reſtrictions of which M. de Sully complains ſo bitterly: whether it was that M. D'Oſſat did not perceive therein the pretended leſion of the honour of the crown, and the prejudice done to the liberties of the Gallican church, which I leave to the learned to determine; or whether he believed that all theſe precautions became neceſſary for the intereſt of religion; or laſtly, whether he were not biaſſed in favour of the maxims of the league: and yet all this does not hinder me from ſubſcribing to the encomiums which our beſt hiſtorians have given this cardinal; and in the laſt place Amelot de la Houſſaye, in the life he gives us of him that is prefixed to the edition of his letters, to which I refer the reader. The abbé Du-Perron and M. de Villeroi, had likewiſe done conſiderable ſervice to Henry IV. in the affair of his abſolution. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 210. & ſeq.

fords

1595. fords a complete proof of what I have juſt advanced, at leaſt with regard to D'Oſſat.

This memorial advances two things relating to the king's abſolution, which proves one of the principal articles: that the pope and the whole ſacred college were ſo ardently deſirous of the king's applying to Rome for this ceremony, that they could not conceal their fears, when they were ſometimes informed that Henry would be brought to deſpiſe it, or look upon it as uſeleſs; and this the author proves from their own letters: ſecondly, that D'Oſſat, inſtead of informing the king of this diſpoſition in the court of Rome, which he would have done had his honour and dignity been of the ſmalleſt conſequence to him, on the contrary gave this prince to underſtand, that he could not obtain a reconciliation with his holineſs, but by offering an incroachment upon the liberties of the Gallican church, and purchaſing it by thoſe conditions already mentioned. Henry, however, rewarded his two agents with the higheſt dignities in the prelacy.

In three days his majeſty arrived at Péronne, where he was immediately ſaluted by Balagny. This man, who by an exceſs of ridiculous vanity *,

* M. de Perefixe ſays, that Cambrai was taken by famine: others, as Matthieu, blame the miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted between the duke de Nevers and de Bouillon for it; and others again the negligence of Balagny. The Memoirs of the league, Tom. VI. remark, that three companies of Swiſs, not having had their pay given them, compelled him to deliver up the place. All the hiſtorians have cried up the courage of Renée de Clermont, the wife of Balagny, and ſiſter to the brave Buſſy d'Amboiſe, who, after having, to no purpoſe, done all ſhe could to inſpire reſolution into the garriſon and her huſband, did not chuſe to ſurvive the loſs of her principality, and died either of famine or grief. "And here in one article, is an "abſtract of the greateſt diſgrace "that France has ſuffered from "foreigners in the memory of "man." So ſpeaks D'Aubigné, in concluding the 9th chapter, liv. iv. tom. III. of his hiſtory, in which he has collected the taking of Catelet, la Capelle, Ardres, Cambrai, Calais, and the defeat at Dourlens. Balagny tells a Spaniſh officer, who ſeemed ſurpriſed at ſeeing him take his miſtreſs along with him, and in the ſame boat, that love ſoftened all the croſs ac-

had

had juſt loſt his government, his fortune, his wife, and his honour, inſtead of bluſhing for his folly, and concealing himſelf from reproach, affected to ſhew himſelf, talked big; and in this ſtate, which was indeed the fitteſt for him, expected all that regard which is generally paid to unfortunate ſovereigns. The king reſolved to attempt all things to aſſiſt Calais: finding that his troops were not ſufficient to ſtorm the camp of the beſiegers, he took the only courſe that now remained, which was to throw himſelf into the place, at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement. Twice he embarked with this deſign, but a contrary wind forced him back again to land. While he deſpaired of accompliſhing his enterpriſe, Matelet, governor of Foix, came to him, and offered to attempt a third time to enter Calais, promiſing him that, if he would give him four or five hundred gentlemen, he would ſo manage, either by ſea, or land, that he would open himſelf a paſſage. The king praiſing his reſolution, gave him the eſcort he demanded; with which Matelet ſucceeded in his deſign, and entered Calais, after having ſurmounted a thouſand obſtacles *. But the glory of this brave action was ſoon obliterated, when it appeared that he had only joined the garriſon to be infected with their 1595.

cidents of fortune: "Right, replied the Spaniard, and eſpecially at preſent, as you will have leſs to do than you have had before." P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 219.

* Hiſtorians do not agree as to this action. Some, as De Thou and D'Aubigné, by ſaying nothing at all of it, ſeem to call it in queſtion; others aſcribe it to the ſieur de Campagnole the younger, Davila and our Memoirs, to Matelet, governor of Foix. Queen Elizabeth offered to defend Calais againſt the Spaniards, upon condition that the place were put into the hands of the Engliſh. Sancy, who was then ambaſſador at London, made anſwer to the queen, that the king his maſter would rather have it in the hands of the Spaniards than in thoſe of the Engliſh: and Henry IV. ſaid himſelf, "if he were to be bit, he had rather it was by a lion than a lioneſs;" and this was the reaſon that Queen Elizabeth afterwards refuſed to beſiege that town, while Henry IV. lay before that of Amiens, though they offered then to put it into her hands by way of ſecurity. Matthieu, ibid. p. 223.

fears,

1595. fears, and to conſent to a capitulation: and the king had the mortification to march to Calais, only to ſee it ſurrendered before his face.

If it be demanded where during this time were all thoſe French noblemen and officers who were ſo forward in adviſing the war; and why they ſuffered the king to bear the whole burthen of it, and ſuffer repeated loſſes? It muſt be owned, to the diſhonour of the French name, that they expected to draw advantages to themſelves by the misfortunes their imprudence occaſioned, and their negligence augmented; and formed, in the mean time, projects more fatal to the king's authority than the bloodieſt foreign war. Theſe projects I ſhall mention immediately.

The king, equally ſuperior to good and bad fortune, comforted thoſe that were driven out of Calais, provided for the ſecurity of Boulogne, Abbeville, Montreuil, Monthulin *, and other towns and caſtles, and marched towards Saint-Quintin, fearing leſt the enemies, who were not far from thoſe quarters, ſhould ſurpriſe ſome of the nobles, and general officers who came thither ſeparately. They choſe this opportunity for the execution of a deſign which they had formed, before they left Paris. The duke of Montpenſier was the perſon whom they charged with this commiſſion, not becauſe he was more diſaffected than the reſt, but becauſe his temper was moſt eaſy, and his underſtanding the weakeſt. He accoſted the king at Saint-Quintin; and, in the name of the principal French nobility, propoſed to him, as the only means of ſubduing his enemies, to reſign to the governors of provinces the property of their governments, with an hereditary right to them, requiring nothing of them but their allegiance.

It is not eaſy to comprehend how a propoſal which had ſo manifeſt a tendency to throw France

* Cities and forts in Picardy.

into

into a ſtate of anarchy, that in former ages had filled it with blood and horror, could proceed from the mouth of a Frenchman, a prince, and what is more, a prince of the royal blood. Henry, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the prodigious inſolence of this affront offered to the royal dignity, for ſome moments could not utter a word, while the duke of Montpenſier continuing a ſpeech which had been ſtudied long before, endeavoured to prove to his majeſty, that while thoſe governors, or rather thoſe little princes, obliged themſelves to maintain troops always ready for his ſervice, he would be never again reduced to ſuch a ſituation as he was in at preſent, to appear before his enemies without ſoldiers to oppoſe them. The king, though agitated with various paſſions, diſcovered none to the duke, but pity towards him for the unworthy part he played. He ſtopped him from proceeding farther, by telling him, without the leaſt reſentment, that he had already heard too much; and that he was convinced thoſe French nobles had taken advantage of the eaſineſs of his temper, to make him the bearer of a propoſal, the whole meanneſs of which he was not ſenſible of; he who was a prince of the blood, and nearer the crown than himſelf had formerly been. The king added much more to the ſame purpoſe, with equal calmneſs, and was ſo far from being apprehenſive that he ſhould be reduced to yield to ſuch a propoſition, and ſo determined to ſuffer a thouſand deaths, if poſſible, rather than bring ſuch a load of infamy upon the royal dignity, that he had not even the thought of entering into any diſcuſſion of this project, or of uttering a ſingle word in anſwer to it*. 1595.

The duke of Montpenſier became ſenſible of his fault, by the air and tone with which his majeſty

* "We are all gentlemen," ſaid Henry IV. ſometimes, before the princes of the blood.

1596. ſpoke to him; he bluſhed, and aſked pardon for it, and intreated the king never to remember that he had been capable of thus degrading himſelf from his rank. The king, after having ſhewn the duke the whole extent of his fault, directed him how, in ſome meaſure, to repair it, with thoſe who had prevailed upon him to commit it; and aſſured him, that he for his own part would forget it entirely, and ſtill regard him as a kinſman.

The duke of Montpenſier agreed to take the firſt opportunity that offered, when the authors of that inſolent propoſal brought it again on the carpet, to declare that he had reflected well upon the commiſſion they had given him; that they might ſend their propoſal by any other perſon, ſince he abſolutely diſapproved of it; and if ever he was to mention it to his majeſty, it ſhould be with a deſign to diſſuade him from it; and that they might depend upon his uſing his utmoſt endeavours to hinder its taking effect. He performed this taſk ſo exactly, and with an air ſo natural, that he wholly diſconcerted all thoſe noblemen, and left them no inclination to make any attempts on his fidelity for the future.

It was therefore to reduce the king to the neceſſity of making them his equals, that the princes and governors of provinces in France ſo ill performed their promiſe of aſſiſting him with troops. The duke of Bouillon was one of thoſe who ſold his ſervices the deareſt. His majeſty, not doubting but he had a part in the plot, was willing to have a proof of it from the duke's perplexity, without letting him know that he was informed of it by other means. Bouillon did not want art and eloquence enough to conceal whatever he deſigned ſhould not be known; but, beſides that Henry poſſeſſed in no leſs degree the art of penetrating into the thoughts of thoſe with whom he converſed, the preſence of a ſovereign is alone capable of abaſhing a man conſcious of any ſecret guilt

guilt towards him. The king began by convincing himſelf that the duke of Montpenſier had not betrayed their late diſcourſe to the duke of Bouillon. After which he introduced the defeat of Dourlens by aſking him plainly, and with a kind of confidence, how it happened that he had been diſappointed in thoſe certain correſpondencies which as he ſaid he carried on in Liege, Namur, and many other places in Luxembourg, and Hainault, upon which he was ſenſible the war had been undertaken? 1596.

Bouillon, embarraſſed by the queſtion, and that air of ſimplicity with which it was propoſed, inſtead of giving a direct anſwer concerning his pretended correſpondencies, fell into long ſpeeches, without meaning or end, which betrayed him more effectually, than the moſt ſincere confeſſion could have done. He accuſed all the world, the duke of Nevers, who he ſaid had corrupted his officers and obſtructed his levies; the Engliſh, for not making the promiſed diverſion; the Dutch, for taking advantage of this conjuncture to increaſe their power on the ſide of Over-Iſſel and Frieſland. Upon which the duke of Bouillon, who ſought only to turn the converſation ſtill more from the firſt ſubject, told the king, that the true cauſe of the misfortune which had lately happened, was, that his majeſty had no perſon of conſequence, and on whom he could have an abſolute dependance, at the court of London, to haſten the ſupplies that had been promiſed there; and at the ſame time offered himſelf for this embaſſy, and even ſolicited it earneſtly. The king being of opinion that it would anſwer no purpoſe to preſs the duke any farther upon this fault, ceaſed to mention it; and reflecting that he ſhould not loſe much by his abſence, conſented at laſt to the embaſſy to England. Accordingly his commiſſion was made out, and the duke of Bouillon, a few days after, ſet out for that kingdom.

1596. It was from his majeſty himſelf that I had an account of this converſation with the duke of Bouillon, as likewiſe that with the duke of Montpenſier before mentioned.

The king had no ſooner quitted Bouillon, than reflecting that the duke, inſtead of having any deſign to ſerve him uſefully at the court of London, had poſſibly only ſolicited that employment to give bad impreſſions there of his conduct, or at leaſt to labour only for his own intereſt, he ſent Jaquinot for me early in the morning, to communicate this fear to me. I kneeled on a cuſhion at his bedſide, and his majeſty aſked me immediately what was ſaid, and what I, in particular, thought of the long converſation he had juſt held with the duke of Bouillon. I replied, that every one gueſſed his own way; and that probably the affair of Ham, and Dourlens, and the propoſal made by the duke of Montpenſier, made up the greateſt part of it. The king told me that I was miſtaken; that he was too well acquainted with the duke of Bouillon's diſpoſition, to doubt that any reproaches upon thoſe occaſions, inſtead of correcting, would only ſerve to throw him into an open revolt. His majeſty afterwards, repeating exactly all that has been related concerning the embaſſy to England, propoſed to me to accompany the duke of Bouillon thither, that I might carefully obſerve his conduct.

In courts every thing is brought about by artifice. The king, after his converſation with the duke of Bouillon, telling his council for the finances, that he had ſent the duke to England, theſe gentlemen, after conferring together, found nothing ſo fit to ſatisfy their hatred of me, as to perſuade the king to join me with the duke of Bouillon. My abilities for negotiations were praiſed, an honour which they were reſolved to deprive me of, when they had once ſucceeded in removing me from the king, who not penetrating into their views, approved of the propoſal. But I did not

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ſo eaſily fall into the ſnare: I ſhewed his majeſty the true motive of theſe gentlemen's feigned generoſity with regard to me. From the moment that the duke of Bouillon diſcovered that I watched his conduct, and diſconcerted his projects, he would not fail to break with me; and ſuch a genius as he poſſeſſed, when animated with malice, would ſuggeſt to him the means of throwing upon me the blame of all the faults he committed, and all the good he neglected to do. My enemies knew this as well as I; his majeſty was convinced by my reaſons, and preſſed me no farther. 1596.

The gentlemen of the council did not ſtop here: when they came again to the king, they were the firſt to confeſs that it was with reluctance they joined me to the duke of Bouillon; but ſince the duke was to ſtay but a ſhort time at London, they had pitched upon me to take his place with the ſame title and equal honours. All was alike to them, provided they could get rid of me. The king was again influenced by their opinions, and ſome days after, declared his intention to me; ordering me to make preparations immediately for this voyage; to provide myſelf with money, and to diſpoſe my wife to follow me, if I choſe to have her with me; which, however, he did not think neceſſary, ſince I ſhould not, he ſaid, be abſent above ſeven or eight months at moſt. The king perceiving my reluctance, accompanied this order with the moſt kind and obliging expreſſions his imagination could ſuggeſt; he told me that the preſent perplexed ſituation of his affairs hindering him from giving me the ſole direction of the finances, he ſhould reproach himſelf for expoſing to the dangers of a long and furious ſiege the only man in the kingdom whom he thought worthy to fill that important poſt. His majeſty had juſt then declared himſelf publicly concerning the ſiege of La-Fere.

While the king was ſpeaking, I was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the obſtinate perſecution of my e-

1596. nemies, and the depth of their malice. Under the appearance of a title of honour vain in itſelf, and fatal in its conſequences, they took away, and perhaps for ever, all opportunities of advancing me: For who in my abſence would be ſolicitous for my intereſt? Who would hinder them from prolonging my ſtay out of the kingdom, till, affairs having taken a fixed and durable ſtate in France, there would be nothing left for a man who, by ſo long an abſence, would be regarded as a ſtranger. Theſe reflections kept me firm in my reſolution not to go. I intreated the king not to force me to a journey for which I felt an invincible repugnance; and I had the good fortune to find that Henry was of himſelf diſpoſed to believe that I ſhould be of more uſe to him at Paris than London, during the ſiege he was going to undertake: he therefore ſent me thither to facilitate his ſupplies of money, to furniſh him with whatever was neceſſary towards carrying on the ſiege, to receive his orders there, make one in his council, and direct its reſolutions. Had the choice of my revenge been in my own power, I could not have fixed upon any more effectual.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VIII.

THE motive which had determined the king to undertake ſo difficult a ſiege as that of La-Fere, was, that, his enemies having after their ſucceſs ſeparated their troops, he would not ſuffer his own, who had at laſt aſſembled, to remain idle, there being a neceſſity to ſecure Picardy, already ſhaken by ſo many repeated loſſes. Had I had the liberty of diſpoſing of myſelf as I pleaſed, I ſhould have choſen to have continued with the king during this ſiege, whoſe too great ſolicitude for my ſafety I could by no means approve: but I did not dare to refuſe the commiſſion which would detain me in Paris; and his majeſty, to render this order leſs diſpleaſing, aſſured me, that he would not for a long time attempt any thing conſiderable againſt La-Fere; and that ſome time or other, he would permit me to make a journey thither. In reality I did ſo ſeveral times, but I had no ſooner arrived, than the neceſſity of providing for the ſubſiſtence of his troops obliged me to return again immediately. I comforted myſelf, however, with the thought, that through my diligence the army being ſupplied with every thing it had 1596.

1596. occaſion for, I might flatter myſelf with having, in ſome meaſure, contributed to the ſucceſs of this ſiege, which laſted ſix months, and was the longeſt that Henry was ever engaged in. This place, beſides its advantageous fortifications, had a very numerous garriſon, compoſed of choſen ſoldiers, and commanded by two excellent officers, the one a Frenchman *, high ſteward of Montelimart; and the other a Spaniard, named Oſorio.

Beringhen †, at the perſuaſions of an engineer who was his friend and kinſman, and had come expreſsly for that purpoſe from Flanders, where he lived, took it into his head that it was poſſible to lay all La-Fere under water; and, upon the aſſurances of his friend, was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that the king, though contrary to his own judgment, ſuffered him to make the attempt: it would indeed have ſhortened the ſiege; but it is to be obſerved, that almoſt all projects of this kind are liable to fail: the ſlighteſt miſtake is ſufficient to ruin them, and it ſeldom happens but ſome miſtake is made. The project of turning the courſe of the Teſin formerly coſt Francis I. the loſs of a battle, together with his liberty. In one of theſe journies I made to the camp, I found this propoſal upon the carpet. I looked upon the execution of it to be impoſſible, and I combated it with all my force: but the engineer wanted not plauſible reaſons to oppoſe to ours. According to him, it was an attempt that would coſt but little time and trouble; all they had to do was to raiſe a cauſey: this they performed; and the water deſtroying their work two or three times, they renewed it as often; at laſt it became proof againſt the water, but the river did not riſe to the heighth they expected: it is true, indeed, that it wanted only ſix feet, but that was ſufficient

* His name was Colas; the Spaniards had promiſed to make him count de La-Fere.

† Peter de Beringhen was himſelf a Fleming, and born at Bruſſels.

to

to force them to abandon the work*, after having consumed in it a great deal of time and money. 1596.

The king falling sick at Traversy, where his head-quarters were, the siege of La-Fere suffered a still longer delay. As soon as the news was brought me I flew to him, and never left him till his health was perfectly re-established. His sickness was considerable enough to make me apprehend for France the greatest loss it could possibly sustain. The governor of La-Fere, finding himself in want of every thing that could enable him to hold out a longer time, surrendered the place to the king, who caused it to be repaired; and at the intreaty of madam de Liancourt, he appointed her son Cæsar to be governor of it, Manicamp, a kinsman † of this lady, performing all the functions of that office, in quality of his lieutenant.

His majesty marching afterwards to the frontiers of Artois, took the castle of Imbercourt by assault; and thought to have done the same, by petard, with the city of Arras. Marechal Biron ‡ was the cause of the ill success of this last enterprize, by not providing himself with a sufficient quantity of petards: the three first they applied played tolerably well, but the fourth being thrown, without effect, into the ditch, with the person that directed it, several of our men were killed and wounded by it. It was, indeed, a mortifying thought, that a conquest of such importance, which would have secured Amiens from the misfortune which soon after happened to it, should be lost for want of a petard or two more. Biron, to avoid the reproaches he had reason to expect, got out of the way, and went

* D'Aubigné does not speak of it so contemptibly, ch. 12. ibid. "The cause," says he, "having "made the river Oise flow back "within La-Fere, it spoiled all "the magazines they had in the "lower parts and cellars of the "town. It was a large machine, "above a quarter of a league in "length. Such an undertaking "shews, that neither the king nor "the kingdom was dispirited un-"der their pressures and disadvan-"tages."

† Philip de Longueval, sieur de Manicamp.

‡ Biron, in his turn, loudly exclaimed against the king's avarice.

to

1596. to discharge his rage upon the country about Bapaume, where he made a horrible devastation.

The ill success of the attempt upon Arras was sufficiently compensated by many favourable events that happened at the end of the preceding year and beginning of this, which I shall pass over slightly as usual; these were, the reduction of Toulouse *, the prosperity of the king's arms in Provence, and the reunion of the chiefs of the league in the king's party. Joyeuse †, who had quitted the habit of a monk, to resume that of a soldier, and paid himself with usury for the mortifications of a cloister, made a treaty with the king about that time. The duke of Nemours ‡ followed his example; but just as it was upon the point of being concluded, he died ‖ with vexation, as some believe, for the bad success of so many great projects. Saint-Sorlin, his brother, continued the treaty for himself. The death of the duke of Nevers § delivered the king

* As to these facts, consult the histories before mentioned for the years 1595 and 1596.

† Henry de Joyeuse. He again entered himself among the capuchins, and died there, under the name of father Ange.

‡ Henry de Savoie-Nemours.

‖ "He voided, by his mouth "and pores, every drop of blood "in his body." Perefixe, ibid. Cayet gives a very moving description of it, ibid. p. 519.

§ Louis de Gonzague died of a dysentery at Nesle in 1595, aged fifty-six: of chagrin, say others, because that when he talked with Henry IV. advising him with regard to Calais, this prince made answer, "How can you advise me "on this head? you who have never been nigher that town than "seven leagues." Tho' M. De Thou, liv. cxiii. and Brantome, tom. III. p. 259. very much extol him, the charge which the duke de Sully brings against him, of having been always a very expensive servant to his master, may be easily made out, even from this general's own letters to Henry IV. of which we have a collection in De Nevers's Memoirs, tom. II. p. 207, 376. "If your majesty," says he to him in one of his letters, "cannot or "will not come this length, I shall "remove so far, that there will be "no grounds to expect any succours from me. In truth, sire, "you do not make me returns "suitable to the manner in which "I serve you; and it appears to "all the world that you do not "value me much.—I never was "treated in the manner you treat "me by the kings your predecessors; from them I received many favours, whereby I was obliged to serve them implicitly; "and I am yet to receive the first "favour from your majesty. If "fatal and ruinous commissions be "not the favours I receive from "you, I will be so free as to tell "you, that I have received no "other since you were pleased to "order me into these parts." &c. p. 348. And there are a great ma-

likewise

likewiſe from a troubleſome uſeleſs ſervant. Laſtly, 1596.
the duke of Maïenne, now abſolutely diſguſted with
the treachery of the Spaniards, began to think ſe-
rioufly upon means to reſtore himſelf to the favour
of the king.

The king thought it of ſuch importance to make himſelf maſter of Arras, that he reſolved to beſiege it in form. I was the only perſon to whom he communicated this deſign; ſecrecy was of ſuch conſequence on this great occaſion, that he durſt not truſt any one with the care of making obſervations upon the place, and therefore undertook that taſk himſelf. I had continued the whole winter at Paris, employed in his majeſty's ſervice, and ſometimes made little excurſions to Moret, in which I took great delight. One day, when I was buſy in overſeeing my workmen, who were levelling the high grounds about two thouſand paces from my houſe, to bring thither two rivulets which form thoſe two ſheets of water which are at preſent near the great alley, a courier from madam de Liancourt arrived, who brought me a letter from this lady, and another from his majeſty, in which he informed me of his deſigns upon Arras, and the methods by which he hoped to ſucceed. I had never ſeen this prince in ſo great a rage as by this letter he appeared to be, againſt the "impoſitions and rogueries (theſe were "his words) of eight gluttons;" who were given him, he ſaid, inſtead of one that he had before: "thoſe raſcals," added he, "with that prodigious "number of intendants, who have brought in all "their male and female goſſips, feaſt together, and "have conſumed above a hundred thouſand crowns, "a ſum large enough to drive all the Spaniards out "of France." This was, indeed, exactly true,

ny more letters in the ſame ſtrain. It is from theſe the duke of Sully, to whom Henry IV. communicated all his cabinet ſecrets, formed a judgment as to the diſpoſitions of the duke de Nevers, and not from thoſe he writ to ſeveral other perſons, which ſhew great attachment and zeal for the king's perſon.

which

1596. which I ſhall make ſufficiently clear when I enter into an account of the finances; at preſent I ſhall only relate two or three circumſtances.

The council of the finances ſuppoſed, that in order to furniſh the ſupplies for the ſiege of La-Fere, they ſhould be called upon to clear their accounts: in this, however, they were miſtaken, the king having put the ſuperintendency of the ſiege wholly into my hands. Theſe ſupplies Deſcures, La-Corbiniere, and ſome other contractors, with whom the financers lived in ſuch intelligence, that they made uſe occaſionally of their names, without admitting them to more than very ſmall ſhares, were engaged to procure. They then treated, under theſe borrowed names, with tradeſmen and purveyors, who commonly ſerved them at the loweſt prices, and contrived to charge to the king thrice the real expence.

The following fact I had from the king himſelf. Very conſiderable arrears were due from the royal treaſury to the Swiſs ſoldiers, German horſe, and other foreigners in the French pay. The council ſuborned a man, named Otoplote, who gave the receivers deputed by theſe foreigners to underſtand, that they muſt never expect to be paid, unleſs they conſented to reduce their demands to ſuch a moderate ſum as could be given them, without draining the exchequer. The reduction was agreed to; but the gentlemen of the council charged the whole ſum to the king's account, and by this means robbed his majeſty, or rather the lawful creditors, of the overplus.

To this many other frauds of the ſame kind may be added. Theſe gentlemen revelled in luxury, while the king and his houſhold wanted neceſſaries. A few days after that on which his majeſty wrote to me, he ſent to inform them that he had occaſion for eight hundred thouſand crowns, for an enterpriſe of great importance (the ſiege of Arras); he intreated, he conjured them to let him have this ſum, but in vain; all the anſwer he could get was,

that ſo far from being able to furniſh him with what he demanded, they knew not how to ſupply the expences of his houſhold. It is, indeed, curious to ſee how this houſhold was ſupported. "I "am," ſays this amiable and worthy prince, in a letter to me, "very near my enemies, and hardly "a horſe to carry me into the battle, nor a com-"plete ſuit of armour to put on; my ſhirts are all "ragged, my doublets * out at elbow, my kettle "is ſeldom on the fire, and theſe two laſt days I "have been obliged to dine where I could, for my "purveyors have informed me, that they have not "wherewithal to furniſh my table." Thoſe belonging to the gentlemen of the council were better provided. Henry, in his letter, deplored theſe monſtrous abuſes, leſs on his own account than on his people's, whom he ſaid he looked upon as his children, ſince heaven had given him no others, and propoſed to me the deſign of aſſembling the ſtates of the kingdom, to conſider of a remedy for all theſe miſdemeanors. 1596.

I obeyed the order the king gave me to burn his letter, but not till I had taken a copy of it; and the reaſons for keeping it ſecret no longer ſubſiſting, I think it my duty to publiſh the contents, as a proof of the wiſdom and goodneſs of this prince: his majeſty concluded his letter with ordering me to come to him in Picardy, and to conduct his miſtreſs thither. We were the only perſons to whom he could diſcloſe his thoughts with freedom. The letter from madam de Liancourt was very ſhort; in it ſhe informed me, that ſhe would ſet out the Tueſday following, in order to reach Maubuiſſon on Wedneſday, where ſhe had a ſiſter †, who was abbeſs, and that ſhe would wait for me there.

* "I have ſeen upon him," ſays LeGrain, liv. viii. "a coat of plain "white cloth, that was very much "ſoiled by his breaſt-plate, and "torn in the ſleeves; as alſo ſtock-"ings that were much worn and "holed through on the ſword-"ſide."

† Anegelica D'Eſtrées.

I ar-

1596. I arrived at Corbeil on Saturday evening, intending to paſs part of Sunday and all Monday at Paris, having ſome purchaſes to make for the palace. Juſt as I entered the ſtreet de la Coutellerie, I met a meſſenger from madam de Liancourt, who acquainted me, that that lady having received freſh letters from the king, and alſo an account that her ſiſter, the abbeſs of Maubuiſſon, was ill, ſhe had determined to ſet out before the day appointed, and that I might join her at Pontoiſe. I ſuſpected this lady had an intention to make her court to the king at the expence of my dilatorineſs; I therefore altered my reſolution, and told my people, that I would go that ſame night to Maubuiſſon, without ſtopping at Paris but only while I refreſhed myſelf and baited my horſes, which I did at the firſt inn I came to, whoſe ſign was the three pigeons. The mention of this inn recals to my remembrance a comical adventure which happened to me there.

Entering, without any attendants, into a very large chamber, I found a man walking about it very faſt, and ſo abſorbed in thought, that he neither ſaluted me, nor, as I imagine, perceived my entrance. Looking at him with more attention, every thing in his perſon, his manner, countenance, and dreſs, appeared to me very uncommon; his body was long and ſlender, his face thin and withered, his beard white and forked; he had a large hat on his head which covered his face, a cloak buttoned cloſe at the collar, boots of an enormous ſize, a ſword that trailed on the ground, and in his hand a large double bag, like thoſe that are tied to ſaddle-bows. I aſked him, in a raiſed tone of voice, if he lodged in that chamber, and why he ſeemed in ſuch profound contemplation? My man, affronted at the queſtion, without ſaluting or even deigning to look at me, anſwered me rudely, that he was in his own chamber, and that he was thinking of his affairs, as I might do of mine. Altho' I was a little ſurpriſed at his impertinence, I never-

theleſs deſired him very civily to permit me to dine in that chamber; a propoſal which he received grumbling, and was followed by a refuſal ſtill leſs polite. That moment three of my gentlemen, my pages, and ſome footmen, entering the room, my brutal companion thought fit to ſoften his looks and words, pulled off his hat, and offered me every thing in his power: then ſuddenly, eying me with a fixed regard, aſked me, with a wild air, where I was going? I told him to meet the king: "What, ſir," he replied, "has the king "ſent for you? Pray tell me on what day and hour "you received his letters, and alſo at what hour "you ſet out?" 1596.

It was not difficult to diſcover an aſtrologer by theſe queſtions, which he aſked me with an invincible gravity. I was farther obliged to tell him my age, and to allow him to look into my hands.

After all theſe ceremonies were over, "Sir," ſaid he with an air of ſurpriſe and reſpect, "I will "reſign my chamber to you very willingly, and "before it be long, many more perſons will quit "their places to you with more regret than I do "mine." The more I pretended to be aſtoniſhed at his great abilities, the more he endeavoured to give me proofs of them; he promiſed me riches, honours, and power (aſtrologers are ſeldom niggards) and added, that if I would inform him of the hour of my birth, he would tell me all that had or ever would happen to me; but without deſiring to know my name, or telling me his, he thought proper, after theſe words, to leave me precipitately, excuſing himſelf for not ſtaying longer with me, upon the neceſſity he was under to carry ſome papers immediately to his advocate and procurator. I made no efforts to detain him; but it was not the ſame with my people, whom I perceived to be ſeized with fear and reſpect at every word this madman uttered. I diverted my wife with

1596. with an account of this little adventure in the firſt letter I wrote to her.

In the evening I arrived at Maubuiſſon, which ſerves for a ſuburb to Pontoiſe: there I met madam de Liancourt, with whom I took the road next day to Clermont. I rode about ſeven or eight hundred paces before the litter in which this lady was, and which was followed at ſome diſtance by a great unwieldly coach that carried her women; before and behind this coach marched ſeveral mules loaded with baggage. About a league from Clermont, where the road was very narrow, a ſteep hill on one ſide, and a hanging valley on the other, leaving only room enough for two carriages to go a-breaſt; the coachman alighting upon ſome occaſion or other, one of the mules paſſing near the ſide of the coach, after it ſtopped, by its neighing, and the ſound of its bells, ſo terrified the horſes, which unfortunately happened to be young and ſkittiſh, that, taking the bit between their teeth, they drew the coach along with ſuch rapidity, that meeting with two other mules, they overturned them in their courſe. The women within, ſeeing a thouſand abyſſes opened under their feet, apprehended their danger, and ſent forth moſt lamentable cries. The coachman and muleteers endeavoured in vain to ſtop the horſes: they were already within fifty paces of the litter, when madam Liancourt, alarmed by the noiſe, looked out, and ſcreamed aloud; I alſo turned back, and trembling at the danger in which I ſaw this lady and her attendants, without being able to aſſiſt them on account of the diſtance I was at, "Ah! friend," ſaid I to La-Font, "the "women will be daſhed in pieces; what will be-"come of us? and what will the king ſay?" While I was thus ſpeaking, I puſhed my horſe forward with all my ſtrength; but this was uſeleſs, and I ſhould have arrived too late.

By one of thoſe lucky chances, and which almoſt amount to a miracle, when the danger was greateſt,

greateſt, the axle-tree of the little wheels coming out of the nave by a violent ſhock which broke the pegs, the two wheels fell on each ſide, and the coach to the ground, and there ſtopped; one of the hindmoſt horſes was thrown down by the ſhock, and kept in the other; the fore horſes broke their traces, and paſſed ſo cloſe to the litter, which was already at the extremity of the precipice, that it is plain if they had drawn the coach along with it, it would have been thrown over it. I ſtopped them and gave them to my domeſtics to hold, after which I flew to relieve madam de Liancourt, who was half dead with fear. I went next to the coach, and aſſiſted the women to get out of it: they were for having the coachman hanged, and I was complaiſant enough to give him two or three ſtrokes with my cane. At length their terrors being entirely diſſipated, and the carriage refitted, we reſumed our journey; and till we arrived at Clermont I continued to ride cloſe to madam De Liancourt's litter. 1596.

The king had ſet out for this place to meet his miſtreſs, and arrived there a quarter of an hour after us. I did not fail to inform him immediately of what had happened; and while I was relating this adventure, I obſerved him attentively, and ſaw him turn pale and tremble. By theſe emotions, which I never perceived in him in the greateſt dangers, it was eaſy to gueſs the violence of his paſſion for this lady.

The firſt moments were given to tenderneſs; after which the king conſulted with me concerning the ſtate of his affairs. That which was of moſt conſequence at preſent, was the advice he had juſt received, by a letter from Rouen, that the duke of Montpenſier, engaged more ſtrictly than ever with the factious courtiers, had formed a very dangerous deſign againſt his royal perſon (this deſign was not explained); and that he was endeavouring by all ſorts of methods, to gain himſelf dependents. The

1596. king was so much the more afflicted at this news, as he really loved the duke of Montpensier; and since policy hindered him from marrying his sister to the count of Soissons, or any of the princes of Lorrain, he was accustomed to look upon this prince as his future brother-in-law. He insisted that all other business being postponed for this, I should go immediately to Rouen, and there either prevail upon the duke of Montpensier to return to his duty, or disconcert all his projects.

I staid six days at Rouen, and during that time I had sufficient reason to be convinced that the imputations against this prince were absolutely false, and an artifice of those who sought to throw the government into confusion. The duke of Montpensier, whose sentiments were very different from those they accused him of, suffered nothing to appear either in his actions or discourse, but what proved his strict attachment to the king. Those persons with whom he had had the closest connexions, durst not in his presence avow any principle contrary to his, and had no hope of ever gaining him. One day when he did me the honour to invite me to dine with him, he talked to me of his resolution to continue inviolable in his duty to the king, with a candour and freedom which those who know him are sensible he would not have been capable of had he been conscious of any secret guilt; and although he did not seek to justify himself, yet innocence carries along with it certain silent proofs, which cannot be resisted. He embraced me several times as a man who was dear to him by being faithfully devoted to the king; and on that account promised me his friendship, of which I have since had many instances. I mentioned to him his marriage with the princess Catherine, as an affair in which the king was as solicitous for his success as he himself could be. He confessed to me that he had never desired any thing with so much ardour as the possession of this princess,

ceſs, but that he durſt not flatter himſelf with a hope of obtaining her, ſince he had not qualities, he ſaid, capable of gaining her heart, or of ſubduing the aſcendant the count of Soiſſons had over him. I remained entirely ſatisfied with the duke of Montpenſier's ſentiments, and reſolved to give a good account of them to the king. The remainder of the time I ſtaid at Rouen I employed in renewing my former friendſhips with ſeveral perſons, among whom were the firſt preſident De Boquemare, meſſieurs De Lanquetot, De Gremonville, De Bourgtheroulde, De Berniere, all members of the parliament; the abbots De Tiron, and Martinbault; the ſieurs De Motteville, Des-Hameaux, De Meſnil, captain of the old Palace; De La-Haulle, De Menencourt, Du Meſnil-baſil, and others, by whom I was treated, and whom I treated in my turn. I lodged with La-Pile, one of my particular friends. 1596.

I found the king ſtill at Amiens *, where a few days after arrived deputies from the principal cities of Provence and Languedoc, whoſe compliments and harangues his majeſty received with his accuſtomed goodneſs. The deputy from Marſeilles was heard with moſt pleaſure, as he ſpoke for a city ſo ancient, and at all times ſo faithful to its ſovereigns.

The king being not only undeceived by my report of the duke of Montpenſier, but alſo more than ever convinced of his affection, reſolved to make one effort more in his favour; and unfortunately I was the perſon whom he fixed upon to diſcharge this new commiſſion. Having ſent for me one night to his bedſide, he told me that, under a pretence of viſiting the princeſs Catherine, I

* The deputies of the town of Amiens ſpeaking to him, in their addreſs, of Henry IIId's goodneſs; "Yes, ſays he to them, he was a "good prince, but he was afraid "of you; and for my part I nei- "ther fear nor love you." Le Grain, Decade d'Henry le grand. liv. x.

1596. muſt go and endeavour to prevail upon her to give the duke of Montpenſier that place in her heart which the count of Soiſſons *, notwithſtanding the ſacrifice of the marriage contract, ſtill poſſeſſed. After what had happened to me at Chartres upon this occaſion, I thought it raſhneſs to embark in an affair in which it was impoſſible to ſucceed. I conjured the king not to expoſe me, by this new attempt, to the eternal hatred of this princeſs and the count. My intreaties, preſſing as they were, had no effect: he anſwered me only with the proverb, *a good maſter, a bold ſervant*; and I had nothing for it but obedience.

My laſt reſource was to demand my commiſſion in writing, that it might ſecure me againſt the fate of many courtiers, who have been diſgraced for acting with a blind obedience to their maſter, againſt perſons of that rank; and beſides a letter of compliment to the princeſs, I required a ſecond, in which he ſhould deduce the motives of my journey, the nature of his orders, and the manner, and arguments by which he deſired I ſhould enforce them. When I made this propoſal, the king, always tenacious of what concerned his honour, replied, that his greateſt enemies never demanded more ſecurity than his word. I anſwered by aſſuring him that I would never make uſe of it but at the laſt extremity; and that if the princeſs ſhould appear diſpoſed to comply with his deſires, provided I could convince her that I acted ſolely by his authority, this writing would then be neceſſary. The king yielded to this laſt argument; and being furniſhed with this authentic piece, I took the road to Fontainebleau, where the princeſs then was, extremely perplexed with the part I had undertaken.

* She uſed to ſay to ſuch as ſpoke to her on the king's part: "Above "all things, I will have my count." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 628.

I ſtaid

I ſtaid only a day at Paris, from whence I went to the princeſs, who expected me with impatience, the king having informed her ſome days before by Loménie of my intended journey, without explaining the occaſion of it. She had flattered herſelf (for love, if it fears all, hopes all likewiſe) that I might poſſibly be come to make the count of Soiſſons happy; and this thought made me happy alſo, as long as it laſted, which was the two firſt days; for thoſe I thought neceſſary to give to civility and compliments. She altered her behaviour on the third, when ſhe found that I only introduced the ſubject of her love to declare to her that the count of Soiſſons had, by his imprudent conduct, incenſed the king to ſuch a degree, that ſhe ought no longer to think of making him her huſband: for I judged it proper to begin by removing one, before I endeavoured to introduce the other. 1596.

Although, in ſpeaking of the count of Soiſſons, I made uſe of the gentleſt terms my imagination could furniſh me with, he had in the princeſs ſo ardent a defender, that in her anſwer ſhe intermingled the harſheſt epithets, and menaces of depriving me of the king's favour. Aſtoniſhed at a rage ſo ſudden and violent, I thought of nothing but appeaſing her, otherwiſe my commiſſion would have that moment been at an end. I therefore intreated her to hear me, and began a tedious ſpeech, of which I knew not myſelf the end; and firſt I introduced a long and eloquent proteſtation of my reſpect, attachment, and earneſt deſire to ſerve her; during which I racked my imagination, in vain, to furniſh me with the means of calming her mind, ſince what it was moſt neceſſary ſhe ſhould hear, namely the count of Soiſſons' inſolent behaviour to the king, was preciſely that which would enrage her the moſt. I ventured however to break through this difficulty, and conjured her to reflect ſeriouſly whether this prince

1596. had, by his whole conduct, deſerved that the king ſhould be ſolicitous to raiſe his fortune. It was the hope only that a diſcourſe, whoſe beginning was ſo diſagreeable, would end in a manner favourable to her paſſion, that obliged the princeſs to give any attention to me; which I judged by thoſe emotions of anger and diſdain which overſpread her face alternately with bluſhes and paleneſs.

I continued to lay before her, with all the moderation imaginable, the many cauſes of ill-will which the count had given the king, particularly his behaviour in Burgundy, certainly inexcuſable even in the eyes of a miſtreſs. I uſed however the precaution to repeat frequently that, for my own part, I believed the count to be very diſtant from thoſe ſentiments which his conduct gave room to attribute to him: I dwelt upon the conſequences it muſt unavoidably have, at a time when a proceſs was actually commenced againſt the princeſs of Condé, by which the prince her ſon, ſtill a huguenot, lived uncertain of his ſtate, in a kind of baniſhment at Rochelle. This affair being of the number of thoſe in which juſtice alone was not ſufficient, the friends of the young prince would have found it difficult to have ſcattered thoſe accuſations againſt the mother, and ſecured to the ſon his rank of firſt prince of the blood and preſumptive heir to the crown, if the king, by ſuppreſſing the inſtruments of the proceſs, as he did at laſt, had not intereſted himſelf in the juſtification of the one, and the defence of the other. I made the princeſs ſenſible that the count was maſter of his own fate, but that he made ſo bad an uſe of the king's favourable diſpoſitions towards him, that he would infallibly oblige him to engage in the intereſts of his rival. In ſhort, I ſaid enough to have made any other think he was greatly to be blamed.

The princeſs, who during this diſcourſe, had fallen into a reverie, occaſioned more by vexation than

than prudent reflections, interrupted me here, to hasten to that conclusion which I had given her a favourable hint of, and which seemed farther off in proportion as I lengthened my speech. But having once begun, she was not sufficiently mistress of herself to stop where she intended; and giving way to the rage that filled her heart, she fell upon me a second time, who, she said, only sought to deceive her, and upon the king her brother, "who loves "me so much," said she ironically, "that he can-"not resolve to get rid of me;" and as a proof entered into a long enumeration of her lovers; amongst whom it would have been easy to prove that she had missed of an establishment through her own fault, as when she refused the king of Scotland. In the course of her complaints she neither spared the queen her mother, nor king Henry III. who, she said, had all conspired to keep her single. Her stock of rancour being almost exhausted by so many invectives, the softer passion took its place, and naturally turned her thoughts on the count of Soissons; a subject which she treated not less amply, but in a manner very different from the former. 1596.

At length, recollecting that her design by interrupting me, was to hear that advice by which, I told her, all past errors might be repaired, she asked me positively what that advice was, but with the same tone of malignant raillery; by which I was still better convinced that her mind was irritated beyond the power of human eloquence to cure: but pressed by the question, I replied, "By the "count of Soissons' doing the very contrary of "what he has hitherto done." The observations I made while I pronounced these few words, were sufficient to persuade me, that it would be to no purpose to propose the duke of Montpensier to her; I therefore looked upon my commission to be at an end, or rather absolutely useless, and all I aimed at now was to draw myself out of this embarrassment by expressions so vague and general, that the prin-

1596. ceſs might not take any advantage of me, nor afterwards maintain that I had failed in my promiſe to her. Nothing is more eaſy than this kind of diſcourſe. I entered at firſt upon the neceſſary duties of crowned heads, and expatiated long upon this ſubject; from whence, however, I drew no other inference, but that the king could not be reproached with any failure of his. This introduced another ſet diſcourſe, divided into ſeveral parts, wherein Henry's gentleneſs of diſpoſition was not ſlightly diſcuſſed; and to conclude by ſomething ſtill clearer, ſince the princeſs, contrary to my expectations, had patience enough to liſten to ſo tedious an harangue, I aſſured her, in few words, that Henry's temper was ſuch, that I was confident he would be eaſily prevailed upon to conſent to every thing that was reaſonable.

The princeſs, ſurpriſed at ſo precipitate a concluſion, aſked me, indeed with ſome appearance of reaſon, if I had nothing more to ſay to her; for it is certain, that I had gone a great way about to little purpoſe; I replied, that I had ſtill a great many things to add. This long converſation having laſted till night, I depended upon having wearied the princeſs ſo much, that ſhe would take an abſolute leave of me: but I was miſtaken; ſhe gave me only till the next day to ſatisfy her demands, and left me with a ſullen and malignant air, accompanied with a glance, and ſome interjections, which I heard as I went out, upon the part I had played at Chartres; from whence I drew a very unfavourable preſage.

I ſhould have been the moſt preſumptuous of all men, if, after this, I could have flattered myſelf with being able to bring her to the point we deſired. Indeed I was ſo far from entertaining ſuch a thought, that I ſhould have been rejoiced, if the princeſs, in quitting me, had commanded me never to appear before her again. I went however to wait upon her at the appointed hour, which was after ſhe had dined. She had repaired to her cabinet earlier than uſual,

uſual, and continued there ſhut up, conferring with the ladies De Rohan, de La-Guiche, de La-Barre, and De Neufvy, from none of whom I had the leaſt reaſon to expect any good offices. I waited in her chamber, talking to the ladies De Gratians, and Pangeac, and two other young ladies, who were as much inclined to favour me as the others to do the contrary. I told them, that I ſhould not have been ſorry, if they had been in the princeſs's cabinet inſtead of thoſe ladies that were then with her, who, I was perſuaded, were that very moment giving her very bad advice. They told me I ought not to imagine ſo, but in a tone that confirmed me in my opinion. 1596.

It was an hour at leaſt, before the princeſs came out; ſhe had been all this time preparing herſelf, and, perceiving me, told me that ſhe was going to give me her anſwer; the purport of which it was not difficult to gueſs, by the cold yet contemptuous air with which ſhe pronounced thoſe words. I followed her, in great uneaſineſs; but ſhe ſpared me the pain of ſpeaking firſt, by telling me that ſhe acquitted me of all I had promiſed to inform her of, and that now I had nothing to do but to hear her in my turn: then aſſuming an air ſtill more haughty and contemptuous, ſhe treated me in the preſence of all thoſe witneſſes (I am obliged to confeſs it) like the baſeſt of men, who, ſhe ſaid, took upon myſelf the character of a perſon of importance, and an able politician, while, in reality, I was a vile and infamous paraſite, who had endeavoured to extort from her own mouth a confeſſion of faults, which neither ſhe nor the count had ever been guilty of, to make my court to the king, who was himſelf aſhamed of the part I had acted. The princeſs could not here avoid falling into the female fault of betraying, by an exuberance of words, the reſerve ſhe had reſolved to maintain. Something which I had ſaid the evening before, relating to her conduct and that of the count of Soiſſons in Bearn,

1596. occurring to her memory, ſhe entered into an unſeaſonable juſtification of it. Pangeac was called a great loggerhead, who had not yet received his deſerts; my comment upon the duties of kings was found highly unbecoming: then recalling herſelf from this rambling ſtrain, ſhe told me, that, to cloſe all with a few words, and to hinder me from boaſting of my commiſſion, ſhe gave me to underſtand, that I was raſh and imprudent to the laſt degree, to concern myſelf with the affairs of a perſon ſo far above me; I, that was only a private gentleman, whoſe higheſt honour it had been to be brought up in her family, and who, as well as all my relations, had ſubſiſted only upon the bounty of the princes of Navarre; that the fate of all thoſe who, like me, ungrateful for paſt benefits, durſt preſume to interfere betwixt perſons ſo nearly united, was to be ſacrificed ſooner or later, without the honour of having my interpoſition known to be the cauſe. From a woman theſe expreſſions might be endured, but, as the princeſs was well aſſured that no man whatever, not even the count of Soiſſons, although a prince of the blood, durſt treat me in the ſame manner, ſhe added, as the higheſt affront ſhe could think of, that all ſhe had ſaid was in the count's name as well as her own. The concluſion of this ſpeech was of a piece with all the reſt; ſhe threatened, with an exceſs of rage, to ruin me for ever with the king, by a ſingle word, and forbad me, for the future, to appear in any place where ſhe was.

I do not believe any diſtinction of rank or ſex can authoriſe the uſe of terms ſo outrageous: certainly it cannot be vanity in me to repeat them; but, as the princeſs added endeavours to words, and obliged me to take meaſures for my own defence, in which, for the firſt time, I waved that ſubmiſſion which I owed to a princeſs, the ſiſter of my king, I cannot better prove the neceſſity I was under to take ſuch ſteps, than by faithfully relating thoſe converſa-

tions, and even the very words that were made uſe of. Although my pride ſuffered greatly by this ſhameful treatment, I had diſcretion and even policy enough, not to ſuffer it to appear; I ſay policy, for had my countenance expreſſed the leaſt emotion, or my reply the leaſt bitterneſs, the princeſs, without hearing me, would have left me in a triumph which it was neceſſary I ſhould leſſen before thoſe perſons who either took part in, or were witneſſes of it. 1596.

I began therefore with the falſe timidity of a man who is ſolicitous to diſculpate himſelf; and that I might engage the princeſs to hear all I had to ſay, I told her that I was very much grieved, to find that the prejudices ſhe had conceived made her diſcover a meaning in my words that I had no intention to give them, and had drawn upon me a treatment I could not poſſibly deſerve; that it was eaſy for me to convince her how little I merited thoſe reproaches ſhe had caſt upon me; and to begin with the count of Soiſſons, ſhe knew that in all I had ſaid relating to him, I had added that, for my own part, I was abſolutely convinced of the rectitude of his intentions. By this introduction, I ſtopped the princeſs, who ſuppoſed ſhe ſhould ſoon have the pleaſure to ſee me imploring pardon at her feet.

I went on with the ſame compoſure to tell her, that to remove the diſpleaſure ſhe ſeemed to entertain, that a private gentleman, and one unworthy to approach her, ſhould be ſent to treat with her, I begged leave to remind her that although, by the prodigality of my anceſtors, I was neither poſſeſſed of the eſtate nor dignities to which I had a claim, yet, however, more than a hundred thouſand crowns had been carried by the daughters of my family, into the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria*; and

* I refer the reader to the explanation I have given in the beginning of theſe Memoirs, about the alliances of the houſe of Bethune.

that,

1596. that, far from being a charge to the king ſince I had been in his ſervice, his majeſty had ſometimes given me the pleaſure to ſee him have recourſe to me in his neceſſities. I acknowledged, however, that nothing could juſtify my having exceeded his orders, if I had really been capable of doing ſo. That moment, taking another paper of the king's out of my pocket, addreſſed to the princeſs, in form of a letter, I took advantage of the aſtoniſhment into which I had caſt her, to tell her, that to finiſh my meſſage before I quitted her for ever, I declared to her, as her ſervant, that his majeſty holding the place of her father, and being likewiſe her maſter and her king, ſhe had no other part to take than ſubmiſſion to his will; that without liſtening to any thing the count of Soiſſons could ſuggeſt, ſhe muſt reſolve either to accept of a huſband from the king her brother, or incur the loſs of his favour; that in this laſt caſe, it would be a very ſenſible mortification to her, after having held the rank of a queen, to ſee herſelf reduced to a very inconſiderable fortune, ſince ſhe was not ignorant, that beſides the preſents the king had beſtowed, in the reſignation he made her of thoſe eſtates ſhe at preſent enjoyed, he had conſulted rather the dictates of his own heart than the laws and cuſtoms of Navarre, which would have appointed a very ſmall proviſion for her.

Theſe laſt words drew the princeſs, in ſpite of herſelf, out of that ſcornful inſenſibility ſhe had affected to ſhew, to enter into the greateſt tranſport of rage that any woman could be capable of. After giving vent to all that anger could inſpire, ſhe went furiouſly into her cabinet; and I withdrew, with great compoſure, towards the ſtaircaſe, whither madam de Neufvy came running after me, to tell me, that the princeſs had ſent her to demand the letter I had ſhewn her. This was a new ſtratagem of thoſe four ladies, who had perſuaded the princeſs, that ſhe would ruin me more effectually with the

the king, if ſhe could make it appear that I had ſacrificed his majeſty's letter. I perceived the ſnare that was laid for me, and I replied to madam de Neufvy, that I was ſurpriſed the princeſs, after having refuſed to hear the contents of the letter, ſhould ſend immediately to demand it. I added, that I would communicate it only to the princeſs, and read it to her, having occaſion for it myſelf. This was not what the meſſenger wanted, and ſhe returned without making me any anſwer. 1596.

I went that evening to Moret, where my wife then was, and ſtaying with her only one day, ſet out the next for Paris, to meet my courier, whom I had ſent from Fontainebleau with diſpatches to the king. But I was greatly ſurpriſed when, inſtead of him, I ſaw young Boëſſe, the princeſs's ſteward of the houſhold, arrive with a letter, at which I was ſtill more ſurpriſed, when I ſaw it was from the king. I knew that Boëſſe was the perſon whom ſhe ſent with her diſpatches to his majeſty. I found that this letter had been ſent open to the princeſs, and had not been tranſmitted to me till it had paſſed through her hands, and that ſhe had ſealed it with her own ſeal: all theſe circumſtances left me no room to doubt of my misfortune, which by a ſad foreboding in my mind was ſtill more confirmed, and I opened the letter trembling. My fears were but too juſt; inſtead of praiſes, and thoſe expreſſions of eſteem and confidence with which the king's letters to me were generally filled, my eyes were ſtruck with a ſevere command to make the princeſs ſatisfaction. His majeſty "could not ſuffer (theſe "were his words) that one of his ſubjects ſhould "affront a princeſs, and his ſiſter, without puniſh-"ing him immediately for his fault, if he did not "repair it by ſubmiſſion."

I was overwhelmed, I confeſs, with this unexpected blow, and ſo much the more, as, having no reaſon to imagine that the king had not received my letter, I ſaw that it was after he had read it that

I was

1596. I was thus treated. What reflections did I not then make upon the misfortune of being employed in ſettling the differences of perſons of ſuch rank, and the danger of ſerving kings. I had nothing to reproach myſelf with, in regard to Henry; I had ſerved him four and twenty years with an unwearied aſſiduity, and a zeal that nothing could allay: it was with reluctance that I accepted this laſt diſagreeable commiſſion: the writing which I had obtained of the king contained many things much more ſevere than any I had ſaid to the princeſs; and I had ſuppreſſed them at a time when it would, perhaps, have been excuſable to have aggravated them. My guilt was, at moſt, a too faithful obedience; yet his majeſty ſacrificed me cruelly, without any regard to my reaſons, or his own expreſs commands. I was ſenſibly affected with this injuſtice, and all my thoughts ran upon forming ſtrong reſolutions to quit the court for ever.

But ſcarce had I taken theſe reſolutions when a thouſand motives concurred to make me change them. Henry, as I had already often proved, had acquired ſuch an empire over my will, that after repeated oaths on my ſide to quit him, a ſingle word from him has drawn me to him as it were by enchantment. To this was added the conſideration of my own intereſt: by liſtening to my reſentment I was expoſing myſelf to loſe the rewards of my long ſervices, when I was juſt upon the point of obtaining them, and at a time when, being diſinherited by the viſcount de Gand, I loſt an eſtate of fifty thouſand livres a year; exhauſted by a long and painful ſervice, having a houſe to eſtabliſh, and menaced with a numerous family by the fertility of my wife, theſe expected rewards were all my reſource, and the only foundation I had to build upon. But, on the other ſide, how could I endure to ſuffer, like a criminal, the haughty and contemptuous behaviour of a princeſs, with whom I had juſt before maintained a character ſo different, and who

who would make this cup as bitter for me as ſhe was able? The agitation and grief of my mind may be eaſily imagined. 1596.

I at length took the moſt prudent part I could, but it was far from ſuſpending the uneaſineſs that preyed upon my ſpirits; I feigned ſickneſs, and the deep melancholy with which I was ſeized was in reality capable of communicating to my body part of the diſorder of my mind. I diſcovered to no perſon whatever the cauſe of my grief, but ſent for a phyſician, who making me tremble for the conſequences of a diſeaſe entirely of my own framing, promiſed, however, to reſtore me health by the force of bleeding and purges.

At four o'clock in the afternoon another phyſician arrived, for whom the cure of my diſtemper was reſerved; this was Picaut, my courier, whom I had waited for impatiently, to take, upon the accounts he ſhould bring me, my laſt reſolutions. After informing me that he had had the misfortune to ſtrain his ankle, which was the cauſe that the princeſs's courier came to the king before him, he preſented me with a letter, in this prince's own hand-writing, which removed all my complaints: Henry told me in it, that I had reaſon to be offended with the contents of his former letter, which he had written in one of thoſe ſudden tranſports that I knew were natural to him, and upon exaggerated complaints, joined to the inſtances and importunities of his ſiſter; but that, to calm my uneaſineſs, he aſſured me he would diſavow nothing I had ſaid, in which if he failed, he would permit me to make uſe of his own letter againſt him: he concluded with theſe words, "Come to me, that you may "inform me more particularly of all that has paſ-"ſed, and depend upon being as well received "by me as you have ever been, let who will be "angry at it. Adieu, my friend."

In this kind familiarity I knew again my old maſter. This letter was dated the 17th of May, and

1596. and the firſt the 15th, and both from Amiens, for which place I ſet out very early in the morning, and arrived there the next day. I neither ſuppreſſed nor palliated any part of what had been ſaid or done at Fontainebleau between the princeſs and me; and his majeſty, by repeated expreſſions of friendſhip and eſteem for me, ſhewed that he approved of my whole conduct.

That I may not too often interrupt the courſe of my hiſtory by a recital which is equally proper every where, I ſhall finiſh, in a few words, all that concerns this affair. La Varenne, who was employed by the princeſs to take care of her intereſts at the court, did not fail to inform her of the good reception the king gave me, and the report that was every where ſpread, that the finances would be wholly confided to my care. The princeſs comprehended, by this news, that it was now neceſſary not only to renounce her vengeance, but alſo to be upon good terms, for the future, with a man from whoſe hands henceforwards all the appointments for the ſupport of her houſhold would proceed. Whether ſhe was convinced that ſhe herſelf was wrong, or ſtill imputed the blame to me, ſhe had the generoſity to pardon me: and I muſt confeſs, to the honour of this princeſs, that in this ſhe ſhewed a greatneſs of ſoul of which few perſons could have been capable. If in thoſe qualities which marked the character of this princeſs, we except an exceſs of vivacity which it was not in her power to reſtrain, and to which, in the affair above mentioned, was added the force of the moſt impetuous of all paſſions, her diſpoſition will be found naturally good and eaſy, capable even of the refinements of friendſhip, and the warmth of gratitude.

She communicated this alteration of her ſentiments with regard to me to madam de Pangeac, one of my friends; and even made the firſt advances to madam de Roſny. I had left her in childbed at Moret. When her health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed,

ed, ſhe went one day to church at Fontainebleau, and returned without waiting upon the princeſs, under pretence of a ſlight indiſpoſition which confined her to her bed. Madam de Pangeac making her ſome reproaches, as if from herſelf, but in reality by the princeſs's orders, my wife found herſelf obliged to tell her, that the terms I was upon with the princeſs made it impoſſible for her to do herſelf that honour. At a ſecond journey which madam de Roſny made to Fontainebleau, the princeſs cauſed her to be told, that the reaſons ſhe had given madam de Pangeac ought not to prevent her coming to ſee her. Accordingly, my wife waited upon her, and had a moſt gracious reception. She confeſſed to her ſincerely, that ſhe was not yet entirely ſatisfied with my conduct, as ſhe thought ſhe had reaſon to expect a very different one, conſidering thoſe inſtances of friendſhip which I had received from her in my youth: ſhe mentioned ſeveral parties of pleaſure at Pau, or at M. de Mioſſens'*, where ſhe had done me the honour to take me with her, particularly that when running at the ring I gained the prize, which was a jewel of ſmall value, and was going to receive it from her hand, ſhe changed the jewel, and gave me one in its ſtead worth two thouſand crowns. She did not forget to mention, that my father had often carried the queen, her mother, in his arms. After all this, the princeſs very obligingly told my wife, that her reſentment againſt me had never extended to her, whoſe diſpoſition ſhe loved. She ſaid a thouſand obliging things of M. de Saint-Martin, my wife's uncle, who had been firſt gentleman of the bedchamber to the king; and of madam de Saint-Martin, the ſiſter of M. de Mioſſens, and conſequently a near relation of her own. 1596.

Madam de Roſny left her extremely well ſatisfied, and fully determined to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to reſtore me to her favour. She made no attempts

* Henry d'Albret, baron de Mioſſens.

1596. this firſt viſit, but afterwards, obſerving to the princeſs the attention I ſhewed in ſettling the aſſignments for the payment of the offices of her houſhold; and repreſenting to her, that it was by repeated orders from his majeſty that I had ſubdued the reluctance I had to accept of that commiſſion which had offended her, Madam de la Force, who was then at the princeſs's toilet, joined my wife; and what ſurpriſed me greatly, being ſupported by the ladies de Rohan and de la Barre, they prevailed upon her to ſend for me that moment. From the time that the princeſs was convinced of my innocence, ſhe had ſo great a degree of friendſhip for me as to confide all her ſecrets to me alone: ſhe propoſed and promoted with all her intereſt the marriage of my eldeſt daughter with the duke of Rohan, her neareſt relation * on the ſide of the deceaſed queen her mother, and the heir of her eſtate in Navarre. The king did not then approve of this match, though he did afterwards. And laſtly, when this princeſs ſet out for Lorrain, ſufficiently diſcontented, as it is well known, with the court of France, ſhe declared publicly, that there were only three perſons in it whom ſhe eſteemed, and that I was one of them.

Hoſtilities between the king's party and that of the league continued, during the years 1595 and 1596, in the ſame parts of the kingdom as in the preceding years: in Britanny, between meſſieurs d' Aumont and de Saint-Luc, and the duke of Mercœur; and in the provinces in the ſouth of France, where ſeveral little ſkirmiſhes happened between meſſieurs de Ventadour, de la Rocheſoucaut, de Châteauneuf, de Saint-Angel, de Loſtange, de Chambaret, and other officers on the king's

* Henry II. of that name, duke de Rohan, &c. who married Margaret de Bethune, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, was grandſon to René I. of that name, viſcount de Rohan, and Iſabella D'Albret, daughter to John king of Navarre. See in all the genealogiſts the other alliances of this illuſtrious houſe with that of France.

ſide;

ſide *; and meſſieurs de Pompadour, de Raſtignac, de Saint Chamant, de Montpeſat, de La-Chapelle Biron, and other leaguers. The defeat of the Crocans, the ſiege of Blaye, the ſacking of Agen, and the death of the duke of Rochefoucaut, are the moſt remarkable events † that happened in the Limoſin and the adjacent places. Leſdiguieres continued the war with equal ſucceſs in Dauphiné, Provence, and Piedmont; ſometimes againſt the duke of Savoy, and ſometimes againſt the duke of Epernon. The concluſion of all theſe expeditions was the entire defeat of the duke of Savoy, who, thinking to derive ſome advantages from the diſunion of the dukes of Guiſe and Epernon, had marched as far as Provence, from whence he was ſhamefully driven back; and likewiſe that of the duke of Epernon, who yielding to his rival the duke of Guiſe, aſſiſted 1596.

* Anne de Levis, duke de Ventadour, governor of Limoſin, and lieutenant-general for the king in Languedoc: he died in 1622. Francis de la Rochefoucaut, prince of Marſillac. René de Saint-Marthe, ſieur de Chateauneuf. Charles de Rochefort de Saint-Angel. Lewis Francis de Loſtange, or Louſtange. N. de Chambaret, otherwiſe called Chambert, governor of Limoſin. Lewis viſcount Pompadour. N. de Raſtignac. John de Saint-Chamant, or Antony his brother. They afterwards were all of the king's party. Henry Des-Pres de Montpezat. N. de Charbonniere, ſieur de la Chapelle Biron.

† Moſt of the events which the author mentions here, happened before the year 1595. The count de Rochefoucaut had been dead ſince the year 1591, having been killed, as we ſaid before, at the battle of Saint-Yrier-la-perche. The viſcount de Pompadour was likewiſe dead in 1591. The taking of Agen by the count de la Roche, ſon to marechal de Matignon, was likewiſe in the ſame year 1391. Blaye was beſieged in the year 1593, by the ſame marechal, who, notwithſtanding the defeat of a Spaniſh ſquadron, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The Crocans, ſo called from Croc, a village in the Limoſin, where they began to aſſemble themſelves, were alſo defeated about the ſame time by Chambert, or Chambaret, the governor of that province: and afterwards, the marechal de Matignon completed their final diſperſion and overthrow in Languedoc, more by ſtratagem than by open force. Conſult, as to all theſe events, the hiſtorians above quoted; as alſo ſee, in the particular hiſtory of the conſtable de Leſdiguieres, the expeditions of this hero, famous for the victories at Epernon, Pontcharra, Vinon, &c. and for the taking of the fort d'Exiles, of Cahors, and of a great number of other places; whereby he became maſter of all Savoy, and a part of Piedmont.

Beſides a war, France was ſore afflicted this year 1596, with a plague and famine, which were occaſioned by the utter inverſion of the ſeaſons; for l'Etoile ſays, that there was a ſummer in April, an autumn in May, and a winter in June.

1596. by the ſame Leſdiguieres, d'Ornano, and the counteſs of Sault's party, was left without any reſource, and reduced to the neceſſity of imploring the king's clemency, by letters conceived in terms of the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, which his majeſty received at Gaillon. His letters were very ſoon after followed by himſelf; he came and threw himſelf at the king's feet, which was a kind of triumph for Henry, this duke's humiliation, with that of Bouillon, and de la Tremouille, being amongſt the number of thoſe things he moſt earneſtly deſired.

During his ſtay at Amiens, the king took ſeveral new meaſures to facilitate my being joined in the council of finances. This prince, who by an effect of the native rectitude of his own mind, could not believe it poſſible for men to be as corrupt as they really were; and by the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition incapable of proceeding to extremities till he had tried all other methods, had for a long time imagined, that he ſhould at length bring this body to manage the revenue of the ſtate with wiſdom and œconomy; and this important reformation was not ſo difficult, but that it might be produced by the advice of one man of induſtry and integrity, whom he would aſſociate with thoſe that compoſed it. With this view, he ſpoke both in public and private to meſſieurs of the council to receive me amongſt them: however great their reluctance was, they durſt not openly reject a propoſition, which being made in this manner, reſembled rather an intreaty than a command.

I confeſs ſincerely, that I was not ſo eaſily brought to yield to this medium. His majeſty, in a private converſation, told me it was his deſire I ſhould endeavour to gain the good-will of meſſieurs of the council, and by ſome inſtances of complaiſance, remove the ſuſpicions they had entertained, that if I joined their ſociety it would be only to do them bad offices; ſo that I might engage them by my behaviour to make it their own requeſt that I ſhould be aſſociated amongſt them. I did not heſitate a moment

ment in replying, that this appeared to me to be the worſt way imaginable of being introduced into the council of the finances, to owe it as an obligation to thoſe who governed them; and knowing ſo well as I did the diſpoſitions of this ſociety, I could not ſerve them and the ſtate at the ſame time. The king, who did not like to be contradicted, and who likewiſe remembered my diſputes with the duke of Nevers, ſuppoſed I had ſtill ſome remains of reſentment againſt thoſe gentlemen, and thought he perceived a kind of haughtineſs in my anſwer, and a tenaciouſneſs of my own opinion, told me, with ſome quickneſs, that he had no deſire to irritate every one upon my account; therefore, without making any more attempts to bring me into the finances, he would ſeek for ſome other employment for me, ſince he knew I could not continue in a ſtate of inactivity. 1596.

He had ſtill ſome remains of diſpleaſure in his countenance when he quitted me to viſit madam de Liancourt, who enquiring the cauſe, repreſented to him, that he would never be ſerved with fidelity till he found a man who, from a regard only to the public good, would not fear to draw upon himſelf the hatred of the financiers. As for me, I looked upon my engaging in the finances as farther off than ever; and reflecting that my employment would henceforwards be reduced to treaties and negotiations, an office which ſeldom fails to bring certain ruin upon any man who would maintain his rank in it with dignity, and his reputation with honour, I reſolved to explain myſelf to his majeſty, and prevail upon him to approve of a ſcheme that would at leaſt ſecure to me the reimburſement of all my expences. But Henry did not give me time to make this propoſal to him: when I approached he told me, that upon the repreſentation madam de Liancourt had made him, he was now brought over to my opinion, and that without any longer delay, he was going to declare his intentions publicly, after

1596. having, for form's ſake, imparted them firſt to the conſtable and Villeroi, to whom it belonged to diſpatch my patents. Theſe two gentlemen came very ſeaſonably into the king's apartment, and received this order; the conſtable by a bow, and Villeroi by ſaying, he would give me the patents as ſoon as he could meet with a precedent of the proper form.

In the afternoon, when the king was gone to hunt, I went to make my acknowledgements to the marchioneſs de Monceaux (for this was the title that madam de Liancourt had lately taken); after which I thought I was obliged, in civility, to viſit monſieur de Villeroi, of whom, inſtead of the patents, I aſked for a warrant, which would have anſwered the ſame purpoſe. Villeroi made an evaſive reply, and during three or four days that I preſſed him, always deferred the affair on various pretences till the next day. At laſt, the king left Amiens to go to Monceaux, and paſſed by Liancourt, where Liancourt, his firſt equerry, received and treated him very ſplendidly. It was in this place that they determined to uſe their utmoſt efforts againſt me.

Liancourt, at Villeroi's ſolicitation, invited the chancellor, who was his intimate friend, and the other members of the council, who came to that place by the king's order, to ſtay at his houſe during the king's reſidence there. They took advantage of this opportunity, of being always near the king, to labour effectually for my excluſion from the council. The method they made uſe of was not to attack me directly, but to inſinuate to the king, that I was not fit for this employment, in which, they ſaid, for want of that experience which only a long habitude can give, it would not be poſſible to avoid committing a thouſand faults, the leaſt of which was able to ruin, without reſource, the credit, and conſequently bring on the deſtruction of, the ſtate. Theſe diſcourſes were ſo often repeated, in the king's preſence (for they deſignedly turned the converſation upon that ſubject) and with

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ſo great an appearance of ſincerity, that the king was at laſt ſhaken by them, and when at the ſame time he found theſe gentlemen could with ſuch facility form the greateſt projects, diſcourſe with ſuch clearneſs upon the ſtrength and intereſts of the ſtate, calculate the revenues of it with the utmoſt exactneſs, in a word, were poſſeſſed in appearance of the whole ſcience of commerce in its full extent, and of every other method by which a ſtate is rendered flouriſhing; and eſpecially that they converſed with each other in a language hardly intelligible to any but themſelves; and, influenced ſtill more by the long preparation which they repreſented as abſolutely neceſſary before any one could be received into the council, he thought that the preſent bad ſtate of the finances was not the greateſt misfortune with which they were threatned. His majeſty likewiſe, looking upon all this as a proof of their repentance, and from the apprehenſions he had juſt given them expecting to ſee a very great alteration in their conduct, no longer entertained a deſign of aſſociating me amongſt them. 1596.

Villeroi, who during this time continued at Amiens, yet was not the leſs informed of all the meaſures taken by a body whom he directed as he pleaſed, ſeized this opportunity to ſend my patents to the king, which he could not diſpenſe with himſelf from diſpatching, after the expreſs orders he had received from his majeſty. When they were tranſmitted to the king, he had left Liancourt, having ſtaid there only a day, and was then at Monceaux, where, ſtill under the influence of theſe ſuggeſtions, he gave them to Beringhen, telling him to keep them without ſaying any thing to me, till he had orders to the contrary. Beringhen, who was one of my friends, diſcovered the ſecret to me, which I kept faithfully. Fifteen days paſſed in this manner. The king did not ſpeak to Beringhen about my patents, and meſſieurs of the council, blinded by their ſucceſs, inſtead of that ſincere repentance

1596. which his majeſty expected from them, gave him new proofs of their artifice and inſincerity, and ſuch groſs ones, that they forced him to cruſh them with the blow which they might, without much difficulty, have avoided.

The king diſcovered that the council had juſt farmed out the ſubſidies of Normandy for thirty thouſand crowns, and to defraud the treaſury of this ſum, ſo much leſs than the true value of the revenues, they had applied it all to the diſcharging the old demands upon it. With a little attention, he convinced himſelf of other faults in their conduct; that the five large farms did not produce the fourth part of their value, becauſe Zamet, Gondy, and other farmers of the king's revenues, who were employed in them, being connived at by the gentlemen of the council, divided with them the immenſe profits that accrued from thoſe farms. The avarice of theſe people was not yet ſated, and, under pretence of the loſſes at Calais, Cambray, Ardres, &c. they allowed ſuch drawbacks upon all the other parts of the king's revenues, that, inſtead of increaſing, they grew perceptibly leſs. The king, amidſt that juſt indignation which this knowledge inſpired, ſent for me, and commanded me to go to Paris, to enquire from whence ſo great a diſſipation of the money proceeded, which could only take its riſe from the council. I replied, that his majeſty having, without doubt, revoked the order he had given to Villeroi, to diſpatch my patents, ſince I had not received them, I had no right to mix with the council, or to meddle with the affairs tranſacted by it. "How!" ſaid Henry, concealing his conſciouſneſs of this reproach, "then Beringhen has "not given you your patents, and a letter from "Villeroi, which he has had theſe fifteen days: "you ſee this heavy German would have forgot "them." While, by the king's orders, I went to make preparations for my journey, that I might reach Claye that evening, his majeſty ſpoke to Beringhen,

ringhen, who consented to take all the blame upon himself. During this interval, a thought came into my head, which I communicated to the king when I returned to receive his last orders. I told him, that I thought it would be necessary for me to go, before the day appointed for the opening of the states, to some of the principal districts of the kingdom, to procure there a more certain account of the present state of his majesty's revenues, the diminution they had suffered, and the augmentations they would admit of, to the end that his majesty might regulate his demands upon the states according to this scheme, which, however imperfect, might still, in proportion, throw some light upon the strength of the more distant districts, and consequently upon the whole kingdom: that, besides this advantage, I did not despair of procuring for him, in those districts only which I should visit, the three or four hundred thousand crowns which he had demanded in vain of the council. I thought it would be useless, and even imprudent, to take upon myself to make this examination, without such an instrument as appeared to me to be the most effectual means to prevent my being deceived, which was a full power from the king to suspend the contumacious receivers and overseers from the exercise of their office, or even to discard them entirely, and to reward the integrity of those who had been zealous for his majesty's service. 1596.

Henry approved of the essential part of this scheme, but altered something of the manner in which it was to be proposed to the council. He was of opinion that I should take such measures in offering this advice to them, that those who most valued themselves upon the strength of their genius, such as Sancy, Schomberg, Fresne, and La Grange-leroi, might seize the hint first themselves, and so pass, at least in part, for the authors of it; and likewise, that each one in the company might flatter himself that this commission would be given to him,

or

1596. or through his means, to the intendants and maſters of requeſts who were wholly at his devotion. Nothing could be more prudent than this medium, which gratified alike the vanity of ſome, and the avarice of all. Accordingly I took my place in the council, where, by a miracle, to be found only in courts, my collegues, who inwardly pined with vexation, ſuffered nothing but joy to appear in their countenances, words, and behaviour. I was almoſt deceived myſelf by that profuſion of praiſes with which the chancellor loaded me, and the manner in which he told me I had been expected by them with the utmoſt impatience: ſuch is the art of courtiers; they ſettle it amongſt themſelves, that however groſsly they play the counterfeit, they ſhall not laugh at each other.

The treaty with the duke of Maïenne, which had been agreed upon ſome time before, was concluded during the king's ſtay at Monceaux. When the king was at Amiens, the duke had ſent a man to him, named D'Eſtienne, to know what place would be agreeable to his majeſty, for him to come and pay him his reſpects, and the king appointed Monceaux, in conſideration of the duke's indiſpoſition, which would not permit him to make longer journies than from Amiens to Soiſſons, where he reſided *. The king was walking in his park, attended only by me, and holding my hand, when the duke of Maïenne arrived, who put one knee to the ground, with the loweſt ſubmiſſions, and added to a promiſe of inviolable fidelity his acknowledgments to his majeſty for having forced him, he ſaid, from the arrogance of the Spaniards, and the ſubtilty of the Italians. Henry, who, as ſoon as he ſaw him approach, had advanced to meet him, embraced him thrice, and, forcing him to riſe, em-

* L'Etoile tells the ſtory otherwiſe: but in this the duke de Sully is more to be depended upon. Perefixe has likewiſe been miſtaken in placing this interview in 1595. See the Chronol. Novenn. liv. viii. p. 599.

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braced him again with that goodneſs which he never withheld from a ſubject that returned to his duty; then taking his hand, he made him walk with him in his park, converſing with him familiarly upon the embelliſhments he deſigned to make in it. The king walked ſo faſt, that the duke of Maïenne, equally fatigued by his ſciatica, his fat, and the heat of the weather, ſuffered great torments without daring to complain. The king perceiving it, by the duke's being red and in a ſweat, whiſpered me, "If I walk longer, ſaid he, with this corpulent body, I ſhall revenge myſelf upon him, "without any great difficulty, for all the miſchiefs "he has done us." Then turning to the duke of Maïenne, "Tell me truly, couſin," purſued he, "do I not walk a little too faſt for you." The duke replied, that he was almoſt ſtifled; and that, if his majeſty walked but a very little while longer, he would kill him without deſigning it. "Hold "there, couſin," replied the king with a ſmile, embracing him again, and lightly tapping his ſhoulder, "for this is all the vengeance you will ever "receive from me." The duke of Maïenne, ſenſibly affected with this frank behaviour, attempted to kneel and kiſs the hand his majeſty gave him; and proteſted that he would henceforwards ſerve him even againſt his own children. "I believe it," ſaid Henry; "and that you may love and ſerve "me a long time, go to the caſtle and reſt and re"freſh yourſelf, for you have much need of it. I "will give you a couple of bottles of Arbois wine, "for I know you do not hate it: here is Roſny, "whom I reſign to accompany you; he ſhall do "the honours of my houſe, and attend you to your "chamber; he is one of my oldeſt ſervants, and "one of thoſe who is moſt rejoiced at your reſolv"ing to ſerve, and love me affectionately." The king continuing his walk, left me with the duke of Maïenne, whom I conducted to a ſummer-houſe to repoſe himſelf, and afterwards attended him to his horſe, 1569.

1596. horſe, as much ſatisfied with the king and I as we were both with him.

The king thought Monceaux ſo agreeable a place, that he ſtaid there longer than he had at firſt intended: he ſent for the conſtable and Villeroi from Amiens, and ordered the council of the finances to reſide at Meaux, for the conveniency of receiving his commands. I had not yet propoſed in it my ſcheme of viſiting the diſtricts. His majeſty, being convinced that it muſt have good conſequences, took upon himſelf the care of propoſing it. At the firſt hint he gave of it, the counſellors, who thought none but themſelves could be deſigned for this employment, and each of whom was attentive to his own particular intereſt, without prejudicing that of the ſociety in general, approved of the deſign; but were greatly ſurpriſed, when they found that, amongſt them all, the king only named La-Grange-le-roi for this purpoſe, and appointed him two diſtricts: his majeſty filled up the other commiſſions with the names of meſſieurs De Caumartin * and Bizouze, for two diſtricts each; and with thoſe of the other two maſters of requeſts, for one diſtrict each: four of the chief and moſt extenſive ones were aſſigned to me. The gentlemen of the council began now to repent that they had not hindered the execution of a plan, which would produce a full proof of their injuſtice: they united their utmoſt endeavours to render it uſeleſs, or at leaſt to traverſe it as much as poſſible. Their malice was all directed againſt me; for by the confidence the king placed in me, and the part I had acted in this affair, they gueſſed the truth. I was accuſed of ignorance, raſhneſs, and obſtinacy, and other faults ſtill more glaring; and had no ſooner begun to ex-

* Louis le Fevre, ſeigneur de Caumartin, was ſent into the Lionnois, Berry, and Auvergne: we ſhall ſpeak of him hereafter. He was keeper of the ſeals in 1622, after the death of M. De Vic, and died the following year, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age. He had the ſame elogiums given him by hiſtorians as M. Sully beſtows on him in the ſequel.

erciſe

ercise the duties of my employment, than I perceived that, by an effect of their foresight, they had taken all the necessary measures with the treasurers of France, the receivers general and particular, comptrollers, clerks, and the lowest officers in the revenue. These people, almost all of whom had either sold, or blindly devoted themselves to their wills, were ready to do whatever was required of them; some absented themselves, and left their offices shut up; others presented me with a state of their accounts, drawn up with all that art which may be expected from men who make a science of roguery: others contented themselves with shewing me the orders of messieurs De Fresne, D'Incarville, and Des Barreaux, by which they were forbid to communicate their registers and accounts to any person whatever. 1596.

To this excess of malice I at first opposed only patience and gentleness. I exhorted, I endeavoured to persuade, upon the principles of honour and justice, persons who were strangers to both: afterwards, I caused a report to be spread, that the design of assembling the states of the kingdom was to suppress that great number of offices and clerkships, especially the treasury, the least useful of all the societies, yet the most difficult to manage; and that none were to be continued in their places but those who made themselves worthy of that distinction, by a sincerity which, on this occasion, would prove their regard to the public good. This threat producing no effect upon persons who were secretly supported by the council itself, I was obliged to make use of the power I had received, and interdicted most of these dangerous officers, causing the duties of their employment to be exercised by two out of each body, whom I chose amongst all those that appeared to have the best principles. By these means I made myself master of all the registers and accounts, which served me for a clue to enter that labyrinth of impositions and robberies.

What

1596. What a ſcene had I there before me! It would be vain to attempt an account of the tricks and ſubtilties of this miſchievous trade, or an enumeration of concealments, forgeries, miſrepreſentations, and productions of the ſame evidences, to ſerve different purpoſes; not to mention the contrivance of an artificial confuſion, through which thoſe wretches ſee with great clearneſs, though, to every other eye, all is darkneſs and inextricable perplexity. I content myſelf with remarking that, by clearing only two old accounts, and bringing together the receipts and letters of exchange of the year current, and the year preceding, I eaſily collected more than five hundred thouſand crowns, which was loſt to the king. It may be judged what a ſum would have been raiſed, if, from all thoſe who were thus employed, a rigorous reſtitution had been demanded of all that they fraudulently gained in ſo long a courſe of diſhoneſty, out of the different ſums that had paſſed their fingers, ſince only from aſſignments for old debts, arrears of long ſtanding, and orders payable to the bearer, ſo much money was recovered. My partners were not as fortunate or as exact as myſelf; all, except Caumartin, who brought the king two hundred thouſand livres, paid his majeſty only in long memorials of improvements to be made in the farming his revenues; yet the king had choſen theſe perſons with the greateſt care. But it is not ſurpriſing that they ſhould act in this manner, for to dare the hatred of a ſociety ſo powerful as that of the financiers in France, to be proof againſt the preſents and allurements, againſt the turns and artifices of all their dependents, the greateſt part of whom do not want underſtanding, and make uſe of it only to dazzle, corrupt, and deceive, requires a degree of courage and fortitude of which few perſons are capable.

Mean time the gentlemen of the council, who had intelligence of all my proceedings in the provinces, were in a ſituation that may be eaſily imagined:

gined: unleſs they found means to render all my endeavours uſeleſs, or to ruin me before my return, their reputation and intereſt would be entirely loſt. My abſence afforded them all the conveniency they could wiſh for to proſecute this deſign; every thing that malice could ſuggeſt was ſaid and done, by them and their emiſſaries, to prejudice the king againſt me: they never mentioned me but as a tyrant, who drained the people of all their ſubſtance, by the moſt cruel extortions, without procuring any advantage to the king; ſince the ſums with which I took ſuch pains to fill his treaſury, being deſigned for the payment of penſions to the princes of the blood, and ſalaries of the great officers of the crown, they would be only placed in his coffers, to be taken out again immediately. Notwithſtanding the invectives and impoſtures of this dreadful cabal, none of whoſe practices againſt me I was unacquainted with, I continued to perform my duty; and they had no other effect than to increaſe my diligence in the execution of my plan, and my precaution in taking ſuch meaſures as would effectually put a ſtop to their accuſations. 1596.

Henry, who had at firſt given no credit to their reports, beginning afterwards to apprehend ſome bad conſequences from my inexperience in thoſe affairs, deſired me, in his letters, to return as ſoon as poſſible: but, at length, when my enemies had made their party ſo ſtrong, that there was a general outcry againſt me at court, the king was prevailed upon to believe that I ſhould uſe the power I was poſſeſſed of with a ſeverity that would make even him odious to the people; and then, inſtead of an invitation, I received an abſolute order to return to Paris. I obeyed without murmuring, though greatly concerned to be thus ſtopped in the midſt of my endeavours for his ſervice. I cauſed the accounts of my four diſtricts to be immediately drawn up, and ſigned by eight receivers-general; and not having time to convert the fifteen hundred thouſand crowns

1596. crowns I had raiſed into a leſs bulky coin, I loaded ſeventy carts with them, making the eight receivers-general accompany them, under the guard of a provoſt and thirty of the marſhal-ſeamen, who conducted them to Rouen, where the king then was, on account of the opening of the ſtates.

Of all the ſlanders which had been invented by the gentlemen of the council, to procure my diſgrace, none ſeemed to them ſo ſpecious as to make the king believe, that I had filled the priſons with the officers and clerks of his finances; to which they thought fit to add that, through an inſolent vanity, I brought along fifty of the principal ones bound in my train. The king, who ſuſpected no falſhood in ſo poſitive a charge, received me, when on my arrival at Rouen I went to pay him my reſpects, with an air that convinced me my enemies had been very active in their endeavours to hurt me. He did me the honour indeed to embrace me, but with a coldneſs and reſerve which were not uſual with him. He aſked me why I had given myſelf the uſeleſs trouble of bringing money along with me, which I knew belonged to perſons whom he had no inclination to diſoblige; and was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that not one denier of it was due to the princes of the blood, nor to any of the penſionaries of the ſtate, who were all paid the April quarter, and would be likewiſe as exactly thoſe of July and October, ſince I had not taken up any of the payments before hand. The king, after obliging me to repeat theſe words ſeveral times, and even to ſwear to the truth of them, broke into an exclamation againſt thoſe wicked detractors, and impudent impoſtures, as he called them; "but," added he, "what do you intend to do with the receivers and "officers, whom you keep priſoners in your train?" The aſtoniſhment into which this queſtion threw me, was alone ſufficient to convince the king of the falſhood of this accuſation; nor was it difficult for me to perceive that moment, that the malice of meſſieurs

meſſieurs of the council would recoil on themſelves; and that it would diſcloſe more effectually the ſecret motives of their conduct than any thing I could ſay to him. His majeſty required no other explanation from me; on the contrary, he loaded me with praiſes, and gave me a thouſand proofs of his friendſhip and eſteem. 1596.

Having been told that the ſum I had raiſed muſt be very conſiderable, upon his aſking me what it was, I replied, that being unwilling to keep any part of it in my hands, either for my charges, expences, or penſion, that the receivers-general might find the full ſum ſpecified in the accounts, and learn from thence never to keep back any part of his revenues, his majeſty might himſelf deduct my expences from the fifteen hundred thouſand crowns which I had brought him. A ſum ſo conſiderable gave great pleaſure to the king, who was in extreme neceſſity for money: he told me, that he would take care my expences ſhould be all paid; and that beſides my penſion of ten thouſand livres a month, which he raiſed to eighteen, he would preſent me with the ſum of ſix thouſand crowns, as a reward for the ſervice I had juſt done him. He commanded me to ſay nothing of what had paſſed between him and me, and ſent me to lay apart from the money I had brought him what was neceſſary for the payment of the ſix companies of Swiſs, at the rate of eighteen hundred crowns a company, and to give it them the next day.

I returned to my carriages, which ſtood in two courts belonging to the ſieur de Martinbault, under the ſame guard that had conducted them to Rouen. I ordered them to be unloaded, and the barrels that contained the money to be placed in apartments, the locks of which were changed, and ſecured by large padlocks, with three keys to each; the two receivers had one a-piece and myſelf the third. The next morning I ſent the Swiſs officers the ten thou-

1596. ſand crowns that were due to them by three clerks, eſcorted by ten of the guard.

A ſhort time after I had ſent away this eſcort, Sancy, to whom the king had ſaid, that he muſt pay the Swiſs, and who was generally charged with this employment, ſent me a billet, in which he deſired me to deliver to the ſieur Le-Charron, the bearer, ninety thouſand crowns for the payment of the Swiſs. Theſe were the terms in which the billet was conceived; for this counſellor would have thought it a degradation of his high rank to have condeſcended to any politeneſs, or explanation with his collegues. I was equally offended at the ſtiff air of this letter, and the impudent demand of a ſum that I knew to be three times more than was due; therefore anſwered the bearer haughtily, that I neither knew Sancy, his writing, nor his orders. "How! do you not know Sancy!" ſaid Charron, ſurprized, no doubt, at my preſumption, for at this name the whole council trembled, the rank Sancy held in it approaching very near to that of ſuperintendant. Perceiving that I had no intention to ſend any other anſwer, he went back to report it with all the timidity of a ſervant who is apprehenſive of awakening the bad humours of his maſter. Unfortunately for Sancy, he repeated my meſſage before ſeveral perſons who were witneſſes likewiſe of his tranſports. "We ſhall ſoon ſee," ſaid he, ſwearing, "whether he knows me or not." Then, after loading me with what invectives he thought fit, he went directly to Saint-Ouen to the king. "Well, Sancy," ſaid his majeſty to him, "have "you been to pay our Swiſs?" "No, ſire," replied Sancy, with a ſullen air, "I cannot go, for it "does not pleaſe your monſieur de Roſny that I "ſhould, who plays the emperor in his apartment, "ſits upon his barrels of money like an ape upon a "block, and ſays he knows no one; and I am not "ſure whether you will have more credit with him "than any one elſe." "How is this!" replied the

the king, "I see you will never be weary of doing "this man bad offices, because I confide in him, "and he serves me diligently." His majesty added, that my refusal was so much the less probable, as I had, by his order, agreed to give this money to the Swiss. Sancy supported his assertion by the testimony of Le-Charron, whom he had brought along with him. The king, suspecting some new instance of malignity, ordered Biart, one of his grooms of the bedchamber, to go and fetch me. 1596.

As soon as he saw me, he asked me what had happened between Sancy and me. "I am going "to tell you, sire," replied I boldly: and accordingly, without fearing the resentment of the terrible Sancy, I related all that had passed, in terms that sufficiently mortified his vanity. Sancy, who was not of a temper to yield, became more insolent than before, and assuming an imperious tone, an altercation so spirited ensued between us, although in the king's presence, that his majesty was obliged to command us to be silent. That instant, ceasing to speak to my adversary, I turned towards the king, and intreated him to give me no superior in affairs wherein I acted solely by his order. The gallery at Saint-Ouen, where this scene passed, was crouded with a great number of persons, who, being weary of Sancy's insolence, rejoiced to see him suffer this little disgrace. "It would have been very diffi- "cult," said some, as I was afterwards informed, "for two such geniusses to have exercised the same "employments, without one of them being sup- "planted by the other; but in the humour the king "is in at present, the best œconomist will be his "choice." Others beheld my increase of favour with envy; and others, who probably had very little regard for either of us, laughed at the novelty of the sight, and cried, "There is one hot-headed "man, who has met with another that will stick "by him."

1596. The report of thoſe great ſums with which I had filled the king's coffers was no ſooner ſpread, than I was overwhelmed with the demands of an infinite number of his creditors, moſt of whom were ſent by meſſieurs of the council; who through impatience to ſee it diſſipated ſoon, agreed with the creditors to have the uſual drawbacks upon their debts. My principal view in raiſing this money being to make a fund for thoſe military expeditions which the king was ſhortly to begin, without his being obliged to load the people with new impoſts, I was reſolved not to ſuffer it to be ſquandered away; and therefore reſiſted all their importunities, and continued unmoved by their inſolence and threats. But reflecting afterwards, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for ſending home the eight receivers-general, who alone were acquainted with the uſes to which I put this money, I was afraid of giving too much occaſion for ſlander, by keeping ſo large a ſum in my poſſeſſion after their departure; and I reſolved to ſend it to the royal treaſury. The king, who thought his money was no where ſecure but in my hands, endeavoured ſeveral times to vanquiſh my ſcruples; but in vain: I was determined to prevent the leaſt ſuſpicion upon this occaſion, and therefore confided it to the care of the two treaſurers, Morfontaine and Gobelin. I removed his majeſty's fears by promiſing him that I would obſerve ſo carefully how this money was laid out, that he ſhould not ſuffer the leaſt loſs. I ſeparated, in the preſence of the receivers, thoſe ſums that were neceſſary for the payment of the army, the expence of an artillery of twenty pieces of cannon, with double equipages, a ſufficient quantity of powder, beſides a convoy of other implements neceſſary for a ſiege, ſuch as pick-axes, &c. which I cauſed to be carried to Amiens. I likewiſe laid aſide fifty thouſand crowns more for the king's privy purſe, out of which he generally beſtowed preſents, unknown to the catholics, on many old officers and proteſtant

proteſtant ſoldiers who had ſerved him faithfully in his wars. The remainder, which I calculated with the greateſt exactneſs, amounted ſtill to four hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, and I carefully preſerved both my former accounts, and thoſe relating to the ſums that were taken from the total. But being deſirous of having a ſecond proof of what the gentlemen of the council and their receivers-general were capable of, I affected great negligence concerning the diſpoſal of the money; and when the receivers came to me, before they ſet out for their offices, to demand a copy of my accounts, I replied, that having no longer any concern about a ſum that was now under the care of other perſons, and they having been witneſſes themſelves of the uſes to which the money had been applied, I had deſtroyed thoſe papers, as having now no further occaſion for them. This the receivers did not fail to inform their maſters of. 1596.

A month was paſſed ſince the money was carried to the treaſury, during which they made ſome payments out of it that I likewiſe pretended to keep no account of: but here it was not poſſible to commit a miſtake; for no ſums being paid without a warrant from the council, all that was neceſſary was, to keep an exact memorandum of it, which I did. Theſe warrants in a ſhort time amounted to fifty thouſand crowns, and conſequently there was ſtill four hundred thouſand in the treaſury. The king, however, ſome days after, demanding two hundred thouſand crowns to be ſent to Amiens, where the deſigned preparations were already made, particularly for the taking of Hedin, Sancy and the reſt replied, that they believed this ſum was ſtill in the treaſury, and that was all; and ſending for D'Incarville, who was likely to know beſt, having the care of the regiſters, he aſſured the king that there was hardly two hundred thouſand crowns in his coffers. His majeſty, to whom I had ſaid three days before that there was ſtill four hundred thou-

1596. ſand crowns remaining, was extremely ſurprized; but their aſſertions were ſo poſitive that they forced his belief; and he told me that I muſt certainly be miſtaken. I was ſo ſure of the contrary, that I mentioned before D'Incarville himſelf, and all my collegues, whom his majeſty had ſent for, that there was a miſtake of one half of the money. D'Incarville replied, that his regiſters were more certain than my memory; and offered to bring, the next day, an extract of all the ſums that had been paid out of the treaſury. I perceived from whence ſo great a ſecurity proceeded, and I was reſolved to ſuffer them, till the laſt moment, to flatter themſelves that they were going to gain a complete victory over me. I had courage enough to conceal, even from the king, the ſtratagem I had made uſe of, and to endure, without reply, the reproaches he made me, for letting this ſum go out of my hands, contrary to his deſire.

The accounts were brought the next day, well atteſted, and no miſtake was found in the ſums which had been laid out; that would have been too palpable: the whole miſtake lay in the receipt, which was founded upon their full perſuaſion that I had really deſtroyed the papers which proved the quantity and quality of the coin carried at different times to the royal treaſury. I ſecretly reflected with aſtoniſhment on the ſubtilty with which they had acted with regard to this receipt, ſo as to ſpread over it an obſcurity impenetrable to any one who was not poſſeſſed of a full proof of its falſhood, and with what art they had given to this obſcurity an air of truth, and even of conviction. I aſked to ſee the receipts, with a feigned ill-humour, which ſeemed to theſe gentlemen a confeſſion of my defeat. The council offered to make the receivers-general depoſe upon oath the numbers and contents of thoſe carriages which had been ſent to the royal treaſury. I replied, that the diſcuſſion would be too tedious. D'Incarville, who took great advan-

tages of my diſſembled perplexity, told me, that I might go and examine the regiſter of the finances upon the ſpot, ſince they could not be moved out of the offices. Although I eaſily comprehended that theſe regiſters, public and authoriſed as they were, might ſtill be counterfeited like the reſt, yet I could not imagine the manner in which it was done, the receipt for each of the carriages being ſigned by D'Arnaud and De L'Hôte, whoſe hand-writing I knew: I had therefore a curioſity to ſee theſe regiſters: all appeared very exact, and in the uſual forms. Meſſieurs of the council began then to inſult over me, and uſed their ſuppoſed advantages very ill. 1596.

I now thought it time to ſilence them, and to cover them in their turn with a real confuſion. Accordingly, I produced the accounts, ſigned by the eight receivers-general; and likewiſe an exact memorandum of all the warrants. That inſtant all their arrogance vaniſhed, and they would have been reduced to the neceſſity of confeſſing their roguery, had they not bethought themſelves of a contrivance to avoid it; but ſo poor a one, as ſtill left them all the diſgrace. A clerk, inſtructed by D'Incarville, came to the king, and told him, that L'Hôte, who kept the key of the hall where the regiſter lay, being abſent one day when one of the moſt conſiderable of the carriages was brought to the treaſury, and the receivers who conducted it being in haſte to return, he thought it would be ſufficient to mark the ſum contained in the carriage upon a looſe ſheet of paper, intending to make it be afterwards reviſed, and ſigned by D'Incarville, and inſerted in the regiſters; but that he himſelf afterwards going to Heudicourt, it had ſlipt out of his memory; for which he intreated his majeſty's pardon. The king contented himſelf with ſlightly reprimanding him for his neglect, ordering more care to be taken of the regiſters for the future. Then going towards the conſtable (who was at the end of the gallery

1596. where all this had passed, and who in the whole affair had appeared more favourable to the gentlemen of the council than to me) he cried out to him at a distance, in the presence of several persons, that his money was found, and that he knew in good time those in whom he ought to confide.

Amidst these contentions came the day appointed for the meeting of the states of the kingdom, or rather of the assembly of notables; that is, of persons of consideration; for so it is that they were called. The reason of adopting this name *, instead of that of the states of the kingdom, which should naturally have been used, arose wholly from the lawyers and financiers, who perceiving that at this time they had riches and influence to give them such a superiority to the other classes, as they were unwilling any but the clergy should share with them, disdained to see themselves levelled with the people by one common denomination; which yet must have been the case, if the forms used in these assemblies, and particularly the distinction of the three orders, had been preserved. They, indeed, made their appearance with magnificence and splendor, which sunk the nobility, the soldiers, and

* Perefixe says, that it is because the king had not time to assemble the states together: "The "kings (says D'Aubigné, with his "usual malevolence) have recourse "to such sorts of assemblies, when "those of the states general are "tedious, difficult, or suspected "by them. The design of assembling these little states being to "find money to carry on the war "against Spain, there were several "schemes proposed and agreed to; "the pancarte, or old rate, was "the chief, which was but very "ill received in many places of "the kingdom," &c. Tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 14. De Thou says very little of it, liv. cxvii. and Davila no more. All that is said in these Memoirs about this assembly is found, so far as I know, no where else: and in order to render it the more intelligible, I have taken the liberty which I have desired in the preface to this work, and that was, to compare with each other all the thoughts that the compilers of M. de Sully's manuscripts have made use of in their Memoirs, without any order of connection. As we may well suppose that they were all mutually connected, and had each their proper object in the mind of this great statesman, it entirely coincides with his views, to apply them to the subjects to which they naturally belong. And all that can be desired is, I think, never to alter the substance of the thoughts in my original; to which I have principally applied myself.

other

other members of the ſtate, below conſideration, 1596.
ſince they were not able to dazzle the eyes with ſplendid equipages, the glitter of gold, nor a long train of attendants; things which will always draw the envy, the reverence, and the worſhip, of the people; or, more, truly, will always ſhew our depravity and folly.

Such, in general, is the notion that ought to be formed of theſe great, theſe auguſt aſſemblies; thoſe men of whom one imagines, that they muſt come thither with minds full of wiſdom and public ſpirit, warm with all the zeal that animated the ancient legiſlators, commonly think on no other buſineſs than how to make a ridiculous diſplay of their pomp, and ſhew their effeminacy to moſt advantage; and whoſe appearance would ſink them into infamy, if they were beheld without prejudice. To complete the notion, we muſt take in the diſcord of the ſeveral bodies which compoſe theſe aſſemblies, their contrarieties of intereſt, their oppoſition of opinion, the deſire of each to over-reach another, their intrigues, and their confuſion; all which, together with that meanneſs diſcovered in the proſtitution of eloquence, have their original from the ſame hateful cauſe: for by ſome fatality it comes to paſs, that thoſe improvements which an age makes in knowledge above preceding times, are not applied to the advancement of virtue, nor ſerve any other purpoſe than to refine wickedneſs. It is true, that in theſe aſſemblies there may be found a ſmall number of men of great abilities and great virtues, men whoſe qualities no-body diſputes; but, inſtead of being forced into public notice, they are treated with an affectation of negligence and contempt, which ſink them into ſilence, and with them ſuppreſs the voice of the public good. Thus long experience has ſhewn, that an aſſembly of theſe ſtates rarely produces the good expected from it: for that ſuch might be its effect, the members ought to be equally inſtructed in true and honeſt policy; at leaſt,

1596. leaſt, ignorance and knavery ſhould ſit dumb in the preſence of men of knowledge and integrity: but ſuch is always the character of multitudes, that for one wiſe man, there are many fools, and preſumption is the conſtant attendant of folly; and it is here more than in any place, that great virtues, inſtead of exciting reſpect and emulation, provoke hatred and envy.

Beſides, if the prince that holds theſe aſſemblies is powerful and fond of power, he will eaſily defeat their ſchemes, or cruſh them into ſilence; but, if he is weak, and unacquainted with his own rights, an unbounded licentiouſneſs of debate will ſoon ſink the kingdom into all the miſeries that naturally follow the depreſſion of the royal authority. Neceſſity therefore requires, that there ſhould be, both in the ſovereign and the ſubjects, a complete knowledge of their ſeveral rights, and mutual obligations. The firſt law of a ſovereign is, that he ſhould keep the law, for he has himſelf two ſovereigns, God and the law: juſtice ought to preſide on his throne, and gentleneſs to ſupport it. God is the true owner of kingdoms, and monarchs are but the miniſters, who ought to exhibit to the people a true copy of the perfections of him in whoſe place they ſtand; and remember, that they do not govern like him but when they govern as fathers. In hereditary monarchies, there is an hereditary miſtake: the ſovereign is maſter of the life and property of his ſubjects, and by means of theſe few words, *Such is our pleaſure*, is diſpenſed from giving the reaſons of his conduct, and from having any reaſons to give. Suppoſing this were really the right of a king, is it not the utmoſt degree of imprudence, to incur voluntarily the hatred of thoſe who muſt every moment have his life in their hands? And hated he muſt certainly be, who forces a conceſſion of power, which he declares beforehand his intention to abuſe.

With regard to ſubjects, the firſt law which religion, reaſon, and nature preſcribe them, is to obey:

obey; their duty is to reverence, honour, and fear their princes, as repreſentatives of the ſupreme governor, who may be ſaid to appear viſibly on earth by theſe his miniſters, as he appears in heaven by the orbs of light. Theſe duties they are to pay from a principle of gratitude, for the ſecurity and advantages they enjoy under the ſhelter of the royal authority: for the calamity of having an unjuſt, ambitious, and arbitrary king, they have no other remedy but that of ſoftening him by ſubmiſſion, and propitiating God by prayer. All grounds of reſiſtance, however ſolid they may be thought, will appear, upon a careful examination, to be nothing more, than artful and ſubtle pleas for diſloyalty; nor has it been found that, by this practice, princes have been reformed, or taxes aboliſhed; but to the calamities, which gave room for complaints, has been added a new degree of miſery, as may be found by enquiring into the ſentiments of the lower people, and particularly thoſe of the country. 1596.

Such are the principles upon which the mutual happineſs of governors and ſubjects might eaſily be fixed, if in general aſſemblies of the nation, each party appeared fully convinced of the truth of theſe maxims: but, ſuppoſing this the caſe, there would ſtill be leſs need of general aſſemblies, to which recourſe is never had but when there is ſome diſagreement between the members and the head. It may, however, be concluded, that, as theſe aſſemblies are at preſent uſeleſs, both on account of the occaſions on which they are called, and of the methods in which they proceed, ſo they might be of great efficacy for the ſupport of regularity and general virtue, if the prince, acting as the real head of united members, would call them with no other purpoſe, than to oblige thoſe who lay down their employments, to give an account of their adminiſtration, in the face of the kingdom, and to chuſe with wiſdom and diſcernment, thoſe by whom their places

1596. places ſhould be ſupplied; animating them to a due diſcharge of their offices by his exhortations, and by a public diſtribution of praiſe and blame, puniſhments and rewards *.

Henry, while he waited for the meeting of the aſſembly, took a journey to Arques, Dieppe, and Caudebec, &c. that he might have a ſight of the places where ſo many memorable actions had been performed, and I accompanied him throughout his journey.

When he returned to Rouen, he opened the aſſembly, by a ſpeech, uttered with a dignity becoming a great prince, and a ſincerity with which princes are unacquainted: he declared that, to avoid all appearance of violence or compulſion, he had determined not to call an aſſembly of deputies, named by the king and blindly obſequious to all his inclinations, but that he gave an admiſſion at large to perſons of all ranks and conditions, that men of knowledge and merit might have an opportunity to propoſe, without fear, whatever they thought neceſſary for the public good; that at that time he would not attempt to confine them by any limitations, but enjoined them not to make an ill uſe of this freedom from reſtriction, by any attempt to leſſen the ſovereign authority, which is the chief ſtrength of the kingdom; and exhorted them to eſtabliſh union amongſt their members, to give eaſe to the people, to clear the royal treaſury from debts, which, though it was ſubject to them, it never had contracted; to ſhew their juſtice in reducing exorbitant ſalaries, without leſſening thoſe that were neceſſary; and to ſettle, for times to come, a fund clear of incumbrances, and ſufficient to maintain the army.

He added, that it ſhould be no objection to him, that the meaſures propoſed were not of his own

* There cannot, I think, any thing be added to the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments. And we need only remit hither thoſe who, as Comines, Boulainvilliers, &c. have taken the ſide of the ſtates, and the ariſtocratical party.

contri-

contrivance, provided he found them dictated by justice, and public spirit: that they should not find him pleading his age, his experience, or personal qualities, as an exemption from any just regulations, though princes often made excuses far less defensible; but that he would shew, by his example, that it was no less the business of kings to enforce edicts, than of subjects to obey them*. 1596.

Henry rose after this speech, declaring that neither he nor his council would be present at their consultations, that they might be wholly freed from constraint; and accordingly went out with all his counsellors, leaving only me, to lay before the assembly such accounts, memoirs, and public papers, as were necessary for their information.

When I gave an account of the last assembly of these states at Paris, I spoke at large of their methods of proceeding, and the forms used in those great and numerous assemblies; and shall therefore only observe, at present, that, excepting the subject of their deliberations, this assembly resembled the former. As they were now necessarily to come to some conclusion, particularly with relation to the subsidies, and to settle the method of raising them, they could think of nothing better to be done, than to make a collection of old useless regulations of a nature contrary to the present state of affairs; instead of considering that the nation ought to be treated as a body afflicted with some

* "If I were desirous, says he, "to pass for an elaborate orator, "I would have introduced here "more fine words than good will; "but my ambition aims at some- "thing higher than to speak well: "I aspire to the glorious titles of "the deliverer and restorer of "France. I have not called you "together, as my predecessors have "done, to oblige you blindly to "approve of my will and pleasure; "I have caused you to be assem- "bled, in order to receive your "counsels, to depend upon them, "and to follow them; in short, "to put myself into your hands "as my guardians: this is a de- "claration which is not very com- "mon for kings, for grey hairs, "and conquerors like me to make; "but the love which I bear my "subjects, and the extreme fond- "ness which I have to preserve "my state, have made me find "every thing easy and every thing "honourable." Peref. part 2.

new

1596. new and extraordinary diſtemper, and therefore requiring an uncommon remedy, and that in proportion as its mechaniſm is better known, the operations performed upon it ought to be altered; ſuch is the force of prejudice, that men continue obſtinately to endeavour the cure of their preſent diſorders, by means of which the inefficacy is demonſtrated by their inability to prevent the evils or to ſtop their progreſs. An injudicious reverence for antiquity; a falſe notion of cauſes, occaſioned by the diſtance of time; a want of diligent reflection on the paſt, and of clear views of the future, about which our ſelf-love hinders us from coming to any agreement, all contribute to perpetuate the wrong meaſures of ancient times. It is a maxim, with ſome, that laws and cuſtoms are not to be changed; a maxim to which I zealouſly adhere, except when the advantage, and what is much ſtronger, the neceſſity of the public * requires their alteration.

Accordingly they amuſed themſelves with raking old ſchemes out of the duſt, and went on ſtill en-

* The genius of the French nation, they ſay, is ſuch, that this alone renders all change, even the moſt uſeful and neceſſary, extremely dangerous for us: a ſyſtem, whoſe foundation it ſeems all the world, at this day, agrees was excellent, and which, notwithſtanding this, has had very troubleſome conſequences, makes us inſiſt more than ever upon this conſideration. The duke de Sully, who lived at a time in which he did not want for proofs of the defects objected to the nation, would have anſwered to this, that two things are abſolutely neceſſary in any nation whatever, in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of ſuch ſort of enterpriſes: the firſt is an authority in the legiſlator, ſufficiently great not to be obliged to change, or abate the leaſt tittle of his plan through fear, policy, or compliance: the ſecond, is a wiſdom equally great, to prepare all the means for putting it in execution. Amidſt a great number of real changes that have been made in the different parts of the government, which will be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, we may obſerve a ſtill greater number of projects which have not been executed, though formed a great while ago: and what is the reaſon? why, becauſe Henry the great and his miniſter watched and waited for the proper conjunctures and circumſtances, &c. which ſhould render them certain and infallible. I will not ſcruple to ſay, that perfect ſkill conſiſts not in imagining, but in knowing, the hazards that proceed from too great precipitation, and too great ſlowneſs, to be aware of the proper opportunity; and in ſhort, to know how to conduct and how to prepare for it.

larging

larging the collection, which they found already to be of no value, till an impoſſibility came full in their view, and deſtroyed their project; for it appeared that theſe old conſtitutions were adapted to a form of government in which royalty, though decorated with a ſpecious title, was a ſtate of ſervitude; and could therefore not be applied to a time when the public intereſt had concentered, in a ſingle perſon, the authority which was formerly diſtributed amongſt great numbers, and eſtabliſhed monarchy as the ſureſt foundation of general ſecurity. 1596.

This fancy was followed by another, which held them for a time by ſome ſpecious appearances, though, in effect, it was no leſs inconvenient than the former. This was the eſtabliſhment of a new council, which they thought it proper to denominate the council of reaſon, whoſe members ſhould be firſt named by the aſſembly, and afterwards by the ſovereign courts. But there was already a council of this kind, and that very council had been apparently the cauſe of the diſorders of the finances, and the miſery of the nation. This ſignified nothing; the whole multitude ſuffered themſelves to be ſo dazzled by a fine name, and a new election, that it was propoſed, and determined, to make the ſame evil its own remedy. It was ſettled, that the new council ſhould divide into two portions the revenues of the king, which they eſtimated, without much examination, at thirty millions*; that they ſhould keep one half in their own hands, for the diſcharge of arrears, penſions, wages of offices, and other public debts and engagements; and that out of the ſame ſum they ſhould repair or make

* The author has reaſon to ſay that this computation is not exact, ſince, notwithſtanding the augmentation of the king's revenues, and the clearing of his debts that happened under his miniſtry, and which may be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs to amount to a very conſiderable ſum, cardinal Richelieu did not value the whole revenues of the ſtate, after all the alterations which he himſelf had made, at more than thirty-five millions. Teſt. Pol. part 2. page 152.

cities,

1596. cities, buildings, roads, or other public works; and that of this ſum neither the king nor the ſovereign court ſhould have power to take cognizance, or examine the application. It may eaſily be imagined, how the members of the council flattered their rapacity by a diſpoſal abſolute and unaccountable of half the revenues of the ſtate: let us for a moment ſuppoſe them diſhoneſt in their management, what numbers muſt be diſtreſſed, what confuſion and ruin muſt enſue?

The other part was left to the king, to be managed by him, or his miniſters, with equal exemption from account: this was burthened with all the expences of the artillery and fortifications, all foreign affairs, embaſſies, and negotiations, the ſupport of his houſhold, his buildings, and his equipage, the payment of his officers, and his privy purſe. Neither party was confined by any preſcriptions, as to the manner of raiſing or managing either ſhare of the revenue; ſo they preſerved that mutual independence on which the projectors valued themſelves; as if the ſtrength of the kingdom did not depend upon the power of aſſiſting, according to their reſpective need, any part that ſhould happen to be in diſtreſs, and ſupplying the ſick, if I may uſe the expreſſion, with the ſuperfluous blood of thoſe that are in health.

As the thirty millions at which the royal revenues have been rated, were ſuſpected to be ſomewhat more than their real value, they reſolved to create a new tax, by laying a penny in the ſhilling, upon all merchandiſes *, and proviſions bought and ſold in the kingdom, by wholeſale or retail. When they computed the amount of the trade of particular perſons, and the expences of neceſſity, convenience, and luxury, they concluded that this new tax might ſafely be rated at five millions; and the happy notion was bleſt a thouſand times,

* Corn was the only thing that was exempted.

though

though in reality the ſcheme was no leſs chimerical than the new computation was defective*. 1596.

When the aſſembly had thus brought their ſcheme in all its branches to perfection, they ſent it by their deputies to the king, who received the propoſal in his council: the indignation raiſed by this project inſtantly appeared by ſuch a confuſion of outcries and murmurs, that the king had great difficulty to make the council give their opinions one by one. The field of diſcuſſion was boundleſs; every man was made eloquent by vexation and reſentment. When my turn came, I ſatisfied myſelf with ſaying coldly, that I had nothing to add to ſuch fine harangues. The king, who obſerved me attentively, and wondered at my caution, reſolved to have a private converſation with me before he gave the ſuffrage which was to determine for, or againſt the ſcheme of the aſſembly; he therefore adjourned the conſideration of the affair till the morrow, in the preſence of the ſame perſons. When we were alone, he aſked me with eagerneſs, the reaſon of my ſilence; and I made to him the following obſervations.

It is certain, that the aſſembly were ſo infatuated with their new ſcheme, that if the king ſhould follow the opinion of his council, and reject it in high terms, he would expoſe himſelf to the danger of a general diſſatisfaction; the more dangerous becauſe the ſtates aſſembled acknowledged no ſuperior, nor allowed that even the king had power to alter their deciſions. One of the moſt impor-

* M. de Sully thinks and ſpeaks of the eſtabliſhing a *ſou* or penny in the ſhilling, as almoſt the whole world thought and ſpoke of it at that time. Le Grain nevertheleſs gives his ſuffrage to this tax, liv. vi. Matthieu does not condemn it; and what is of greater weight, Cardinal Richelieu finds it to be ſo much the more juſt as it is eſtabliſhed, ſays he, in divers other ſtates, and had been already reſolved on by a body of the ſtate, under Francis I. However the difficulties and inconveniencies which M. de Sully mentions in the ſequel are real, and partly the ſame which made Richelieu be the firſt entirely to diſſuade Lewis XIII. from eſtabliſhing it. Teſt. Pol. part 2. ch. 9. ſect. 7.

1596. tant maxims of monarchy is, that the king ſhould take care not to reduce his ſubjects to actions of diſobedience, or even to words of diſreſpect; beſides, the king would directly break the word, by which he had promiſed the aſſembly to conform himſelf to their reſolutions: and to conclude, all they who contrived, or had adopted the ſcheme, would make the rejection of it by the king, an argument by which they would convince themſelves, that this was the true ſcheme of affairs, till by an attempt to put it in execution they were cured of their notion, and would inſinuate, that only their prince had prevented them from ſeeing that practice eſtabliſhed in France, which had been for ſo long a time deſired. Every body knows, that it is the diſpoſition of the people, eſpecially of thoſe that have ſpirit and reſentment, to abuſe the actions of their ſovereign.

On the other ſide, it was equally certain that this project was at once deſtructive in its tendency, and impracticable in its execution; to give full conviction of this the leaſt knowledge of the finances was ſufficient: beſides the obſtructions which I have juſt been mentioning, how many more muſt ariſe from the competitions which would be produced by an election of the members of the council, who were to be taken equally from all the provinces of the kingdom. No ſooner could this ſcheme, which was now only ſketched out, be branched into particulars, than that appearance of impartiality and juſtice, by which the conduct of public affairs muſt be neceſſarily thrown into the hands of new and unexperienced men, would occaſion innumerable miſcalculations, and miſtakes. It was apparent that the heads of the new council would immediately grow giddy, and that all the meaſures they would take would be only blunder accumulated on blunder.

From the impoſſibility that any advantage ſhould ariſe from this ſcheme, I drew my arguments to perſuade the king to conſent to it; by which he would

would obtain, in the eyes of his people, the honour of falling readily into the meaſures which they themſelves had marked out; and this condeſcenſion would be ſo far from leſſening the royal authority, that when the new council had made the melancholy experiment of their ſtrength, he would ultimately receive this advantage, that all the parts of the finances would fall back into his hands, with exemption from dependance. As the calculation of the royal revenues was made by the aſſembly, and the council ſelected from it, it would be ſuppoſed that they had taken in all neceſſary conſiderations relating to thoſe payments, of which the collection was moſt difficult and expenſive: they could not therefore take it amiſs, that the king choſe his fifteen million of that part which he liked beſt. Chuſing for his part the revenue of the five great farms, *des parties caſuelles, du domaine, et des aides*, he might expect, without preſumption, to ſee them doubled, if not trebled, in a ſhort time. This I ſpoke with full confidence, becauſe I had already provided myſelf of reſponſible people, who had engaged to take theſe farms at a conſiderable advance. With reſpect to that which remained in the hands of the council of reaſon, the caſe was quite otherwiſe; and I would have been bound to the king, that the penny in the ſhilling, amongſt others, would not, when all expences were defrayed, bring in above two hundred thouſand crowns clear money. 1596.

The reaſon why I did not give this opinion openly in the council, was, becauſe I thought it proper that it ſhould ſeem to come from the king himſelf. The king, after having heard me with great attention, was afraid leſt my advice ſhould bring him into difficulties, and into a miſtake in ſome ſort irretrievable; but having conſidered my reaſons very ſeriouſly, he reſolved to follow my opinion.

When the council met next day, they determined as the day before, and I determined in the ſame manner. The king declaring that he could not fol-

1596. low their advice, left them in the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, and went in to the aſſembly, where he declared, in ſtrong terms, that finding himſelf diſpoſed to promote, with all his power, the inclinations of ſo wiſe a body, he received their ſcheme without any qualification or reſtriction, which he conſidered as conſiſting of three articles; the erection of an independent council, the diviſion of the public revenues, and the levy of a penny in the ſhilling; that the aſſembly had nothing to do but in twenty-four hours to name the council; to give in a ſchedule of the thirty millions, that he might chuſe his own ſhare; and that they ſhould ſee, by his conduct, whether he or the council were the better œconomiſts. The goodneſs and compliance of the king were loudly praiſed; and the council finding itſelf concluded by a determination ſo unanimous, which left no farther room for debate, at leaſt between the king and his ſubjects, thought of nothing but returning to Paris, there to conclude this maſter-piece of policy.

The new council was not formed with ſo little diſturbance as had been expected; that change of temper which retarded the election was ſo great, that penetrating perſons ſaw from that moment how chimerical a ſcheme had been embraced by the multitude. The nomination was at laſt completed, in which the clergy were very buſy from the firſt; and the cardinal de Gondy *, famous for his œconomical abilities, was put at its head, as if public affairs was to be adminiſtred by the ſame rules as thoſe of a private houſe. The council of reaſon held their meetings regularly in the epiſcopal palace, where the cardinal had aſſigned them an apartment.

But no ſooner had they begun to lay papers upon the table for the collection of the payments of the next year, but theſe new money-mongers were ſo

* Peter de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, and brother to Albert de Gondy, duke of Retz, a peer and marechal of France, of whom we have ſpoken before.

much

much perplexed, that they knew not on which ſide to turn them. The farther they went the more the labyrinth was perplexed; they found no-body that would undertake for the penny in the ſhilling; the farmers aſked for other funds, but at a diſcount which put them quite at a loſs; and to add to their vexation, the buſineſs could not be put off: all the penſioners of the ſtate came upon them, and talked of nothing but millions to people that had not yet got a ſingle farthing. Chagrin and vexation ſoon broke the unanimity of the new council; they began immediately to quarrel, and reproach one another with ignorance and raſhneſs. 1596.

The thing was come, in a few weeks, to this paſs, that the council of reaſon could do nothing reaſonably; and they were forced to apply to D'Incarville and me, and begged of us to come, at leaſt once a week, and give them ſuch counſel as we gave the king, whoſe part of the revenue they ſaw growing and flouriſhing day after day. I excuſed myſelf on account of my employ, which took me up altogether. They then addreſſed the king; who, with his ordinary goodneſs, commanded me to go: but I did not forget, on that occaſion, what was neceſſary to his ſervice. I lamented the ſtate of the affairs of the council; I found no means of extrication, and I helped forward nothing but perplexity. In ſhort, ſcarce three months had paſſed before theſe profound politicians, being at the end of all their art, and ſinking under their burden, went to the king to beg to be diſcharged. The king, who I believe began to like this new regulation, that ſet him at eaſe, told them that every thing was difficult at firſt; adviſed them to take heart, and ſent them away confuted by their own reaſons. But they ſoon came back, and changed their intreaties to importunity; confeſſed that they had been in the wrong when they undertook to govern the kingdom, and ſhewed a thouſand times more ſatisfaction

1596. on their diſmiſſion from their employment, than at their advancement to it.

This burden fell upon me, as an addition to that with which I was already loaded, and my labour was ſo great, that it required both my days and nights. As I had a kind of paſſion for the re-eſtabliſhment of the finances, I made prodigious advances in the ancient regiſters of the council of ſtate, the parliaments, the chambers of accounts, and the court of aids, and even in the private accounts of the former ſecretaries of ſtate, for the new ones would not communicate theirs. I did the ſame thing in the offices of the treaſurers of France, in the treaſury chamber, and in the papers of the treaſurers of the exchequer*: I raked even into that vaſt collection where all the ordonnances are kept inſcribed. Having a deſign to draw up a general ſtate of the finances for the year 1595, which was the end of all my reſearches, I thought it fit to neglect nothing, that I might come as near as was poſſible, in the firſt year of my management, to the exactneſs to which I earneſtly deſired to carry it. Whatever fraud or miſtake had crept into the finances, I imagined that it could be neither ſo great nor ſo general, but I ſhould be able to prove and ſhew its original, by comparing theſe pieces which I have been mentioning, or by the inferences to be drawn from them, with a due obſervation of the different proportions of various times and alterations of affairs.

The people of the king's council were frighted at the ſight of my project, and beginning to imagine that I ſhould throw every thing open, blamed themſelves now more than ever for not having with

* "Roſny, before he entered upon his office of ſuperintendant, had furniſhed himſelf with all the neceſſary informations, the better to be enabled to acquit himſelf therein: he perfectly knew all the revenues of the kingdom, and all the expences neceſſary in raiſing them: he communicated all that he knew of this matter to the king, who had in like manner ſtudied all theſe things thoroughly himſelf." &c. Peref. p. 225.

much

much vigour oppoſed my admiſſion into the council. 1596.
Maiſſes, to whom I muſt do this juſtice, that as ſoon as he diſcovered my intentions he joined his endeavours with mine, gave me information of their terrors and regret. To confirm them in their ſuſpicions, I declared in public, that I had obtained ſuch intelligence about the finances, that they would be preſently regulated upon another plan; and I deſired that the comptroller-general, the intendant of the finances of France, the treaſurer of the exchequer, and the receivers-general, ſhould be joined with me, in order to draw up this general ſtate of the finances, of which theſe very men were in ſuch terror. I had the care, however, to keep the pen always between my own fingers.

However, I could not this time keep myſelf clear of ſeveral conſiderable errors, nor eſcape being tricked by theſe old practitioners. I think it is no ſhame to confeſs it; this very year they gained a profit of one fifth, which is exorbitant, though infinitely leſs than their ordinary gains. I propoſed the next year to remedy both this and another miſtake which I had committed: one of the chief tricks of the financiers was, to make the expence of the current year appear to be much more than the receipt, and to anticipate the revenues of the following year; by which means the expence of the next year, and of all the reſt in ſucceſſion, was thrown into a confuſion, from which theſe men drew many advantages, particularly that of appearing never to have money which was not pre-engaged long before, and of being able to alledge this excuſe to the king, and all thoſe whom they were not inclined to pay. In the ſecond place, they made uſe of that money: and, to conclude, they paid off the old debts at a very low price, and yet charged them entire in their accounts. This negligence of mine coſt the kingdom this year two millions.

This fault I corrected the following year, during my reſidence in Brittany; ſo that from that time

1596. forward the receipts and expences exactly agreed. And in the mean time, to fill up the deficiency which my miſtake had made, I took the *parties caſuelles*, *les gabelles*, the five great farms, and the toll of the rivers, out of the hands of the duke of Florence, who held them under the names of Gondy, Senamy, Zamet, Le Grand, Parent, L'Argentier, and other old managers, who had no ſhare in the new finances; and I increaſed theſe farms with two millions that had been loſt by miſcomputation. The contractors for the finances, and their aſſociates of the council, were thunderſtruck with this laſt blow; but for this time their ſpite vented itſelf in ſmoke, the king having ſupported me for ſome time in a manner ſo conſpicuous, as ſunk them all into inactive deſpondency. The conſequence of his conduct to the aſſembly was, that he was made maſter, not only of the pretended council of reaſon, but likewiſe of his own, whoſe authority was now declining; and he had no longer reaſon to fear that his deſigns would miſcarry, as formerly, by their obſtruction.

The deſign in which he was then actually engaged, was the ſiege of Arras, which had been propoſed in the council of war, which, excepting only the ſecretary, conſiſted merely of men of action: it had there paſſed without oppoſition; but the reſolution was kept ſecret. becauſe only by concealment could we be aſſured of ſucceſs. That the merchants with whom I agreed for ſupplies of all neceſſary proviſions might know nothing of the matter, I named to them a great number of cities along all the frontiers of Picardy, and Arras among the reſt, at any of which they obliged themſelves to deliver, during the whole campaign, fifty thouſand loaves a day. Santeny, Robin de Tours, Mauleville, and Lambert chevalier de Guet d'Orleans, engaged likewiſe for the conveyance of every thing elſe, and particularly of twenty-five cannons.

The

The contract paſſed at ſo low a price, that if the misfortune that happened at Amiens a little after, had not obliged us to draw thither the forces deſigned againſt Arras, they would have been conſiderable loſers: but as it happened, they made a reaſonable gain. 1596.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK IX.

1597. THE preparations that were making for war, did not prevent their enjoying at Paris all the amuſements that winter commonly brings along with it. The gentleneſs of the government ſecured the tranquility of the public, who taſted all the ſweets of it, without any of that allay which for ſo long a time had imbittered all their pleaſures. Gallantry, ſhews, play, took up the time of the courtiers; and the king, who liked theſe diverſions through taſte, permitted them through policy. Monſieur and madam De Fervaques intreated me to allow of the addreſſes of monſieur De Laval *, the ſon of this lady, to my eldeſt daughter. I referred them to the king, without whoſe conſent I could not now diſpoſe of my daughter, ſince it had been propoſed by the princeſs, to marry her to monſieur De Rohan; with

* William De Hautemer, count deGrancey, ſeigneur de Fervaques, who afterwards became a marechal of France. His wife was Andrée d' Allegre, widow to Guy count de Laval, whoſe ſon was likewiſe called Guy, the twentieth of that name, count de Laval, de Montfort, &c. who was ſome time after killed in Hungary: in him ended that branch of Laval, or rather of Rieux, which continued only in the female line; for this Guy count de Laval was of the houſe of Coligny.

whom the king being at that time offended, approved of monſieur De Laval. 1597.

The court every day had the pleaſure of a new entertainment, from engagements of this nature, the moſt ſplendid of which was given by the conſtable, at the ſolemnity of baptizing his ſon. This was the pretence; but it was well known, that one of the moſt beautiful young ladies of the court, and who was afterwards married to an old man, was the real object of theſe gallantries. Montmorency, amongſt all the courtiers, choſe out twelve noblemen for his ballet, who he thought would appear there with the greateſt magnificence; and prevailed upon the king to lay his commands upon me to be of this number. The elegance and propriety with which it was conducted, and which is the very eſſence of theſe ſort of diverſions, was ſuperior to any thing I had ever ſeen of the kind. This entertainment was univerſally allowed to have greatly excelled all that went before it: it was likewiſe the laſt, and a ſtrange diſturbance happened at the end. I retired about two in the morning, and had been an hour and a half in bed, when I ſaw Beringhen enter my chamber, with the utmoſt conſternation painted in his countenance: he could but juſt tell me that the king wanted me; and aſſure me, in anſwer to my enquiries, that no accident had happened to his perſon; for this was the firſt queſtion I aſked, and his reply comforted me beforehand for the misfortune, whatever it was, ſince I ſaw none which were abſolutely irremedible, but thoſe that threatned his life. I put on my cloaths haſtily, and ran to the Louvre, in great anxiety of mind: upon my entering the king's chamber, I ſaw him walking about very faſt, his arms folded, his head reclined, and all the marks of a deep uneaſineſs * impreſſed on his

* "Being as it were thunder-ſtruck at this, and yet looking up to heaven as he commonly does more in adverſity than proſperity, he ſpoke aloud, This blow is from heaven! Then pauſing a little ſaid, I have ſufficiently acted the part of king coun-

1597. countenance. The courtiers ſtood in different corners of the room, leaning againſt the hangings, without uttering a ſingle word.

The king coming to meet me, preſſed my hand with great emotion, crying, "Ah, my friend, "what a misfortune! Amiens is taken." I confeſs, I continued immovable, like all the reſt, at this unforeſeen blow: a place ſo ſtrong, ſo well provided with every thing that was neceſſary, ſo near to Paris, and on the ſide of Picardy the only key to the kingdom, to be taken ſo ſuddenly ere we could be informed that it was threatened with an attack: the thing was almoſt incredible, and the general conſternation appeared to be too well grounded. However, I took my reſolution immediately, and while the king, who had received this news as he was preparing to go to bed, related to me the manner in which the Spaniards, with ſome ſacks of walnuts, had ſurpriſed this important place *, I reflected that, inſtead of increaſing, to no purpoſe, the general diſmay, prudence ſuggeſted that, in the preſent circumſtance, it was neceſſary to keep up every one's ſpirits, and to comfort the king. I therefore told him that I had in good time juſt put the finiſhing hand to a ſcheme, by which not only Amiens, but ſeveral other places, would be reſtored to him, without much difficulty.

"of France, it is time now that I "aſſume the character of king of "Navarre; and turning to the "marchioneſs, who wept, we muſt "quit our preſent warfare, and "take horſe to engage in another."

* It was on the eleventh of March. Hernand Teillo de Porto-Carrero, a Spaniard, the author of this ſcheme, had diſguiſed like country men and country women, carrying goods to market, about thirty Spaniards, who ſtopped up one of the gates of the town, and amuſed the guard, by pouring out at the entrance thereof a cart loaded with ſacks full of filberts which one of them untied; and during this time ſome Spaniſh troops, who lay concealed behind the hedges, marched up, and putting the guard to the ſword, made themſelves maſters of the town. See an account of this in all the hiſtorians, under the year 1597. Hernand Teillo was killed in bravely defending this town againſt Henry IV. He uſed to ſay, that the three greateſt commanders he knew, were Henry for the conduct of a large army, the duke of Maïenne for the ſiege of a town, and marechal Biron for a battle. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 232.

This hint alone ſeemed, on a ſudden, to have robbed the late misfortune of half its force; and although it did not hinder the king from reflecting on all the difficulties of an enterpriſe which might have very fatal conſequences, yet, as the aſtoniſhment the courtiers were in left them nothing to ſay in anſwer to the king's interrogatories but what tended to increaſe his diſquiet, his hopes were greatly raiſed by what I had ſaid, and he deſired to know what methods they were by which I propoſed to ſerve him. I replied, that he ſhould be informed by the papers I had drawn up for that purpoſe; and I went out as if to fetch them, leaving the king at leaſt in a more compoſed ſtate of mind than I had found him. Had he been a witneſs of my perplexity and uneaſineſs, when I was alone in my cloſet, he would have ſuppreſſed part of thoſe praiſes which he beſtowed on me when I had quitted his chamber; for then it was, that, reſigning myſelf up to reflection, I comprehended the whole extent of thoſe misfortunes, which might be expected from the preſent poſture of affairs. The king's treaſure exhauſted, not a ſingle regiment fit for ſervice, at the ſame time that there was an abſolute neceſſity both for money and troops in great abundance, and that without any delay. 1597.

I read over my private memoirs: I revolved in my mind all thoſe ſchemes for levying money, which I had employed my leiſure hours in concerting, foreſeeing that the king would have ſoon an occaſion for them. Moſt of theſe ſchemes might be reduced to two different kinds; one very eaſy and plain, wherein all that was neceſſary to be done was to augment the land-tax, and other impoſts already eſtabliſhed; the other more difficult, which conſiſted in contriving new ſources from whence money might be drawn. The firſt I did not think it prudent to have recourſe to, ſince, after all the hardſhips which the country people had endured, to oppreſs them ſtill more by an augmentation of taxes,

1597. taxes, the ſole weight of which falls upon them, and at a time when they but juſt began to breathe again, was to complete the ruin of the ſtate, and to deprive the king himſelf, for the future, of his moſt fruitful, and in one ſenſe his moſt certain reſources.

I then turned my thoughts another way, and fixed upon the following project, which was to demand of the clergy a free gift for a year, if not for two years, and oblige them to make immediate payment; to augment the old offices with new members, four in each ſovereign court, beſides four maſters of accounts in every chamber, two in every office in the finances, two offices of counſellor in every preſidial court, an aſſeſſor in every royal tribunal, and an elect in every election; to add a third to all the officers of the finances*; to keep back half a year's payment of the arrears of ſums borrowed from the contractors in the laſt reign; to increaſe the tax on ſalt fifteen *ſous* a pottle, and to leave it always in that ſtate, becauſe ſuch an increaſe would give room for the ſuppreſſion of certain offices too chargeable to the public; to raiſe the entry of goods, and the tolls of rivers a third part, by a new eſtimate; and, as all theſe meaſures gave us, for the moſt part, only the hope of money, to begin by borrowing twelve hundred thouſand livres from the richeſt people of the court and principal cities, and to aſſign them payments out of an augmentation of the gabels and five great farms; and, to ſupply the ready money which we ſhould have occaſion for beſides, to raiſe a proſecution in the chamber of juſtice againſt the old contractors, who had made conſiderable fortunes, and oblige them to ſuffer a new tax, in form of a loan.

* The offices of the finances were poſſeſſed by two perſons: the firſt was called L'Ancien; the ſecond, who had been appointed after, was called L'Alternatif; and this third was called Triennial, becauſe he had every third year his rotation with the other two, who alone had the privilege of reimburſing the Triennial.

This

This plan was indeed of ſufficient extent. However, it was not my intention, that theſe methods ſhould be all made uſe of at once, but, being uncertain how long the war would continue, they might employ them ſucceſſively, beginning with thoſe which were the leaſt burthenſome. With regard to the troops that were neceſſary, I thought they could not do better than to raiſe them in thoſe provinces of the kingdom which had no longer any occaſion for defence. Thus I taxed the iſle of France, by joining Barry to it, with a complete regiment; the Orleanois with Touraine was to furniſh a ſecond: and Normandy itſelf a third: theſe regiments were to conſiſt of fifteen hundred and fifty men, furniſhed and maintained by the provinces, from the day of their arrival before Amiens; becauſe theſe provinces enjoyed the right of calling the regiments by their own name, and of appointing the officers. 1597.

Five days after I carried my project to the king, with the proper evidences formally drawn up in thirteen papers. His majeſty retired to examine them with me, in the preſence of D'Arambure, Lomenie, Beringhen, and L'Oſerai. When I had finiſhed reading them, I told the king that, with theſe ſupplies, there was nothing to retard his departure for the expedition of Amiens; ſince all the neceſſary preparations for a camp in Picardy were already made in ſuch a manner, that, I durſt aſſure his majeſty, his army would not only find their proviſion in great plenty, but likewiſe every thing requiſite for mere convenience, with the ſame eaſe, and at the ſame price as in a city. I added, that whatever reſource this ſcheme might afford the king in his preſent neceſſities, his majeſty muſt not imagine it could be carried into execution, without increaſing the number of thoſe wounds of which France was far from being wholly cured: that he need only take a ſlight view of the immenſe debts and engagements with which the ſtate was overburdened;

1597. burdened; that, to an exhauſted ſtate, a new tax, in whatever manner diſguiſed, is always the ſame; therefore the war ſhould not be renewed, but with a view of procuring an advantageous peace, which was now become abſolutely neceſſary: and however great the public miſery was at preſent, I was fully convinced that twelve years of continued peace would be ſufficient to reſtore the kingdom to a flouriſhing condition.

I did not doubt but that, by the conduct which the king appeared diſpoſed to obſerve, the enemies, notwithſtanding the advantages they had gained, would be the firſt to wiſh for the end of the war; and at that time I freely diſcloſed a thought to the king, the juſtneſs of which was verified by the event; and this was, that the firſt overtures for a peace would be made by the king of Spain, whom policy, in that ſtate of weakneſs and incapacity to which the common courſe of nature had reduced him, would not permit to expoſe his crown to the uncertain chances of war, always to be feared, but chiefly in the beginning of a prince's reign who was ſtill a child. I even went ſo far as to foretel, that Spain would purchaſe peace by the reſtoration of all the towns ſhe had taken from France.

My ſcheme for raiſing money was ſo much approved by the king, that he reſolved to propoſe it himſelf in full council; but he communicated it beforehand to a kind of little council of war, compoſed of the duke of Montpenſier, meſſieurs De Montmorency, De Maïenne, D'Auvergne, De Biron, D'Ornano, De Bellegarde, De Saint-Luc, De Fervaques, De Roquelaure, and De Frontenac: he afterwards ſummoned an extraordinary council, to which he admitted all in Paris who had a right to a place there, particularly the chief perſons of the aſſembly of Rouen, who ſtill reſided there. The king could take no happier meaſures to eſtabliſh his authority upon the weakneſs of this great aſſembly, which was now acknowledged by themſelves. He began

began with lamenting the loſs of Amiens, declaring the neceſſity there was to recover this city as ſoon as poſſible, giving in a full plan of all that was neceſſary for that purpoſe: he concluded with aſking the advice of all that were preſent, concerning the means of carrying it into execution, complaining, in order to conceal from them what he himſelf had to propoſe, that his moſt uſeful and neceſſary enterpriſes were always oppoſed by difficulties, and retarded by delays. 1597.

Here the king ſtopped, as if to wait for the deliberations of the aſſembly. Each looked upon the other without uttering a ſingle word; at length the nobles broke ſilence, but it was only to refer the affair to the financiers, who in their turn replied, that it belonged wholly to the nobles. Henry urging them to deliver their opinions, ſome general propoſals for new levies were made, which were immediately oppoſed by one half of the aſſembly; and the counſellors finding their ſpeech all at one time, to ridicule, in a confuſed and diſorderly manner, whatever might be offered by either party, the king, ſeizing that moment when their animoſity was carried to ſuch a heighth, that there was not the leaſt probability of their coming to any agreement, drew the memorial out of his pocket, telling them, that, although he had but little experience in the affairs of the finances, yet, upon the preſent occaſion, he would offer his opinion, which he was always ready to give up for a better: he then prepared to read the paper, which threw all that were preſent into a fixed attention, and afterwards into an aſtoniſhment, that rendered them ſpeechleſs and immoveable. Henry ſuffered them to remain in this ſilence for two moments, then declaring that he underſtood it as an unanimous conſent, added, that as he had no intention to make uſe of all thoſe meaſures at one time, he would begin by borrowing the ſum of twelve hundred thouſand livres; and exhorted the nobles and the wealthieſt perſons in

1597. the kingdom, to comply voluntarily with the preſent neceſſity of the times, and depend upon his royal word, that the lenders ſhould have their principal reimburſed in the ſpace of two years, together with the intereſt. His majeſty then brought forward the fifteen *ſous* upon ſalt, the eſtabliſhment of the third man in the finances, and an enquiry into the conduct of fraudulent contractors. The affair was decreed, and a decree drawn up upon that plan. We had, in a very little time, three hundred thouſand crowns voluntarily lent: the creation of the third man brought in twelve hundred thouſand, and the ſame ſum was drawn from the collectors of taxes, to whom the treaſurers of France were joined, but were ſuffered however to tax themſelves.

The council of the finances, accuſtomed to rejoice in the calamity of the people, were ſoon comforted under theſe new ſubſidies, provided they might paſs through their hands. They repreſented to the king, after having greatly commended his memorial, that the ſucceſs of it depended upon his employing perſons of great experience, ready diſpatch, and poſſeſſed of a full power to execute it. The king replied, that the perſon he was reſolved to employ ſhould be inveſted with his authority; and that, with regard to the other qualities, he pitched upon me (I was preſent at this diſcourſe) as the moſt induſtrious and moſt prudent amongſt them, although the youngeſt. He expreſſed himſelf in yet ſtronger terms to Schomberg (whom his majeſty viſited juſt before his departure, on account of an indiſpoſition * that confined him to his bed) and to the counſellors he found in the ſick count's

* Gaſpard Schomberg, count de Nanteuil. This diſorder was a difficulty of breathing, that proceeded from the membrane that covers the heart becoming oſſeous on the left ſide, as alſo ſome others of the neighbouring parts; and this was found ſo upon opening his body after his death, which happened two years afterwards. He was employed in the making the edict of Nantes, as ſhall be obſerved hereafter; and he did many other ſervices to the ſtate. M. de Thou highly commends his character and abilities, both as a warrior and as a ſtateſman.

chamber

chamber. He told them, that as I only ſhould bear the blame, if he was not ſupplied with every thing he had occaſion for, while he employed himſelf wholly in fighting againſt his enemies, ſo he was reſolved that every thing ſhould be regulated in the council agreeable to my directions. And accordingly, before he went away, he inveſted me with his whole authority. This mortified Schomberg to ſuch a degree, that he choſe rather to go and ſerve at the ſiege, than ſee me at the head of the finances. Sancy likewiſe left the council, to hold his rank in the army as colonel of the Swiſs. 1597.

The gentlemen of the council gave me ſtill more reaſon to ſuſpect them, of which I had a proof in the affair of the third men. After having recorded the edict by which they were created, I endeavoured to raiſe as much money as was poſſible from theſe offices. And to deprive the gentlemen of the council of all means of ſerving at a low rate, any relation or friend, as was uſual with them, I applied myſelf with as much aſſiduity to the pen, as any clerk or treaſurer *des parties caſuëlles*; and not ſatisfied with uſing this precaution, I gave a note under my hand to each purchaſer, who was obliged to carry it to the treaſurer, from whom, after laying down the money, he received an acquittance, and both were to be produced to me.

All artifice becoming ineffectual, the contractors had recourſe to a method which, doubtleſs, had ſeldom failed before; they attempted to corrupt me with bribes. Robert de Tours, a very conſiderable contractor, after conferring with the council, whom he had gained over to his intereſt, came to my houſe, and entreated one of my ſecretaries to procure him an interview with my wife, to whom he offered a jewel worth ſix thouſand crowns as a preſent for me, and another worth two thouſand for her, that I might not oppoſe a determination of the council, who had aſſigned to him the nomination of all the third men in the diſtricts of Tours and

1597. Orleans, for the ſum of ſeventy-two thouſand crowns. He was introduced to me by madam de Roſny, whom, by a ſevere reprimand in the contractor's preſence, I made ſenſible of the fault ſhe had committed. Nor did I ſpare him, in order to prevent ſuch attempts for the future. He left me greatly ſurpriſed, and probably as much offended at my behaviour. I had juſt been refuſing, from another contractor, ſixty thouſand crowns, for one half of that of which he had before offered me ſeventy-two thouſand for the whole; and that very evening, that half brought me fourſcore thouſand crowns, becauſe I divided it into ſmall parcels.

This employment detained me at home all that day and the following, for I thought it of more conſequence than to attend the chancellor's ſummons, who had ſent a ſerjeant of the council twice to me, to deſire I would come thither, and finiſh an affair which would procure the king, he ſaid, ſeventy-five thouſand crowns of ready money. I went as ſoon as I was diſengaged, without thinking any more of Robert de Tours. The chancellor, upon my entering the council-chamber, made me ſome ſlight reproaches for my negligence: I anſwered him bluntly, that I had been more uſeful to the king in my cloſet. "We have been no leſs ſo "here," returned the chancellor, who ſought to enhance the value of the ſervice he had done the king, in procuring him this ready money, by the neceſſity his majeſty was in for it, having, by two letters ſucceſſively, demanded ſome of the council. When I diſcovered that this was the money which had juſt before been offered me by the contractor of Tours, he having only added three thouſand crowns more to the ſum, I repreſented to theſe gentlemen, in very ſtrong terms, that ſince they could not be ignorant that Robert had firſt applied to me, they ought not to have concluded, without my knowledge, an affair which had appeared to me to be unjuſt.

Finding

Finding that they were endeavouring to impoſe upon me, partly by complaint, and partly by an air of authority, I told them plainly, that if I had been of a humour to be gained by bribes, the bargain would not have returned to them; but that ſince the king relied upon my fidelity, I would not fail to give him every proof of it in my power. The chancellor, Freſne, and La Grange-le-roi, ſenſibly affected with the reproach conveyed in theſe words, had the aſſurance to mention immediately, that a bargain by which the king loſt more than half of what was due to him, was, notwithſtanding, more advantageous for him, ſince he was paid with ready money, than mine, by which I commonly allowed the purchaſers the term of ſix months for the payment of the ſecond moiety. They did not ſtop there, but reproached me with ſetting myſelf up for a reformer of the finances; and declared, with an air of contempt, that they were able to ſupport their bargain againſt mine. Upon this, growing violent, the council determined that their aſſignment to Robert de Tours ſhould take place. 1597.

I did not think proper to ſay one word more concerning this unjuſtifiable method of proceeding, nor upon the regulation that was made in conſequence of it, which was, that thenceforward the council would have no regard to particular notes. But when Fayet, the ſecretary, brought me this arret to ſign, I refuſed to do ſo, till I had received the king's anſwer to a letter, in which, as I told Fayet, I had ſuppreſſed no part of the truth, nor concealed the perſons: this letter gave Fayet ſome apprehenſions, as I deſigned it ſhould; he intreated me to ſhew it him; and pretending to be overcome by his importunity, I yielded. It turned entirely upon the underhand practices which Robert had made uſe of to gain the gentlemen of the council; all which I had had the good fortune to diſcover. I likewiſe gave the king to underſtand, that this

1597. contractor had procured the favour of the council, by making to madam de Sourdis *, miſtreſs to the chancellor, the ſame offers which I had rejected; to which he had added other preſents to madam de Deuilly, a relation of the chancellor's, and Freſne's miſtreſs. Fayet repeating the contents of my letter to the perſons moſt concerned in it, they ſent him back immediately, to intreat I would not ſend it: the arret was ſuppreſſed, and Robert's bargain rejected.

In this manner I divided my labours, between the care of receiving the money of the ſtate, and laying it out advantageouſly for the neceſſities of the army, which wanted neither proviſions nor artillery during the whole time that the ſiege of Amiens continued. I took a journey regularly every month to the camp, carrying with me each time fifteen hundred thouſand crowns; which procured me the friendſhip of all the principal officers, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch exact payments. I extended my cares and ſolicitude even to the private ſoldiers, by eſtabliſhing an hoſpital in the camp, ſo convenient and ſo well attended, that ſeveral perſons of quality went thither to be cured of their diſeaſes or wounds †,

* Iſabel Babou de la Bourdaiſiere, the wife of Francis D'Eſcoubleau, marquis de Sourdis; ſhe had an elder ſiſter, called Frances, who was married to Antony D'Eſtrées, and mother to the fair Gabrielle; and likewiſe a younger ſiſter, who married Claude de-Beauvilliers, the count de Saint-Aignan. This whole family was ſtrangely cried down and ſatirized in the Amours du Grand Alcandre, and other ſarcaſtical libels of that time, even as far back as the grandmother of theſe three ladies, who was called Mary Gaudin. All the daughters of this line were remarkably beautiful. Leo X. was ſo charmed with the beauty of Mary Gaudin, at Bologne, where he had ſeen her, when he had a conference with Francis I. that he preſented her with a diamond, called by domeſtic tradition Gaudin's Diamond. It is Amelot de la Houſſaye who ſpeaks ſo; and he has collected ſeveral ſuch-like anecdotes of this whole family, to which I refer the curious reader, in the article *Babou de la Bourdaiſiere*.

† D'Aubigné relates, that it was commonly ſaid at that time, that Henry IV. had brought Paris with him before Amiens, to ſhew the abundance that reigned in his camp. He likewiſe brought his miſtreſs to Pecquigny, at which the marechal de Biron and other general officers murmured very much.

The king's ſolicitude for the ſafety of my perſon, which, indeed, he almoſt carried to exceſs, more than compenſated for all my trouble. Saint-Luc, to whom the count de la Guiche had reſigned the poſt of great maſter of the ordnance, took me with him to ſee his lodgments, knowing my fondneſs for that part of the military art: this engaged me very far in the trenches and other places in which there was ſome danger. The king being informed of it, gave me a ſevere reprimand, abſolutely forbidding me to appear at any hazardous poſt; and ſaid publicly on this occaſion, that I had enemies even in the camp, who ſo eagerly deſired my death, they would voluntarily expoſe themſelves to any danger, provided I ſhared it with them. It was hardly poſſible for one who had been a ſoldier, not to feel his former ardour for war revive, near a prince who was equal to every military duty, and performed all with an application ſo unwearied, and courage ſo invincible, as might have animated hearts the leaſt ſenſible of glory. 1597.

His example, however, did not produce the ſame effect upon all. In the very midſt of his camp, a cabal of mutinous proteſtants was formed, headed by meſſieurs de la Tremouille, de Bouillon, and Du Pleſſis, which gave him great uneaſineſs. Going to pay my reſpects to him, before I returned again to Paris, I found him in deep affliction: he had juſt received certain intelligence, that theſe three gentlemen, in concert with the two Saint-Germains, de Clan and de Beaupré, * D'Aubigné, La-Caſe, La-Valliere, La-Sauſaie, La-Bertichere, Preaux, Baſſignac, Regnac, Beſſais, Conſtant, and other

* This is the hiſtorian D'Aubigné, who is always called D'Aubigny in theſe Memoirs; his name is Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné; his birth, his ſervices, and his courage, gained him great reputation among the calviniſt party: he retired in 1620 to Geneva, where he died in 1631, aged fourſcore, leaving behind him only one ſon, called Conſtans D'Aubigné, whoſe daughter was Frances D'Aubigné, the late marchioneſs de Maintenon. Addias de Chaumont, ſeigneur de la Bertichere, brother to John de Chaumont, the marquis de Guitry; his poſterity is ſtill extant to this day. Hector de Preaux, &c.

1597. proteſtants, to the number of twenty, had held an aſſembly of the whole body of proteſtant bigots, wherein they had made a propoſal, which they ſupported with all the power and influence they had, to take advantage of the opportunity the ſiege of Amiens * afforded them, which could not be carried on without their aſſiſtance, to force an edict from the king entirely to their ſatisfaction; or, if he refuſed, to do themſelves juſtice, by taking up arms againſt him. Happily for the king, this propoſal was objected to by many perſons in the aſſembly, as well as in ſome of the great towns, which they had endeavoured to draw over to their party. His majeſty was a little comforted by this circumſtance, but he had reaſon to apprehend, that the moſt vio-

* It is certain, that it was by this conjuncture of the ſiege of Amiens, and the ſeveral ſteps which the calviniſts of France took to make their advantage of it, that they obtained the famous edict of Nantes, which was granted them the year following. The duke de Bouillon does not deny this. All the reaſons by which he juſtifies this conduct, may be ſeen in Marſolier, liv. v. but the beſt of all is the proteſt which he and Du Pleſſis Mornai make, that whatever might apparently be the view of the calviniſts in theſe aſſemblies at Saumur, Loudun, and Vendôme, that were called together immediately after one another, and conducted with a great deal of warmth, neither they nor the other heads of the party ever had an intention of deliberating therein upon taking up arms, but only amicably to endeavour to obtain equitable conditions. We could wiſh, ſolely for the entire juſtification of the duke de Bouillon, that there had not been reaſon to upbraid him for refuſing to follow the king in his expedition to Amiens; and that the ſurpriſe of this town by the Spaniards had not been followed, on the party of the calviniſts, by a tranſlation of the proteſtant aſſembly of Vendôme to Châtelleraut, where the proceedings were ſo violent, that the king was obliged to ſend thither M. de Schomberg, De-Thou, De-Vic, De-Calignon, and De-Montglat, who were charged with full powers to offer ſuch conditions as ſufficiently ſhew, that Henry IV. thought he had every thing to fear from them. The reaſon why the calviniſts have filled Europe with their complaints about the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is becauſe the intervention of a ſpace of time of upwards of fourſcore years, has made them loſe ſight of the means they uſed at firſt to extort it. As to the above remark, conſult the Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon; his Hiſt. by Marſolier; the Hiſt. of the edict of Nantes; the life of Du-Pleſſis Mornai; the Verbal proceſs of the aſſemblies of Vendôme and Châtelleraut, &c. but eſpecially D'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 11. where he relates, at very full length, all the ſchemes and cabals of the calviniſt party, and the new turn which they endeavoured to give their affairs.

lent

lent party would carry it at laſt. He commanded me to write to ſome of the principal amongſt them, to prevail upon them, if poſſible, to reſume more reaſonable ſentiments, and particularly the duke de la Tremouille, whom he knew to be the chief promoter of the conſpiracy. 1597.

Hitherto I had preſerved ſome degree of intimacy with La-Tremouille, inſomuch that he thought himſelf obliged to require my preſence in theſe aſſemblies, but concealed the occaſion of them; and in his letter to me made uſe of ſuch ambiguous terms, as it was not difficult to judge, that I was conſidered by theſe gentlemen as a man unfaithful to his own party; and that La Tremouille was not far from engaging in an open rebellion. This did not hinder me, however, from taking advantage of the remaining correſpondence there was between us, to endeavour to bring him back to his duty. I wrote to him in anſwer, that although it were true, the king, in reſpect to him, was ſuch as he imagined, there was neither honour nor greatneſs in extorting from him a declaration which was the effect only of neceſſity; but that, in reality, this prince had the ſame ſentiments as formerly for the proteſtants; that he was not the cauſe of that injuſtice they ſuffered from the catholics, ſince he had equal reaſon to complain of them himſelf; that beſides he ſhould obſerve, that the conſequence of this edict, obtained ſo unſeaſonably, would not be ſo advantageous for them as they imagined, ſince the catholics, always more powerful than they, were able to prevent it for the preſent; and for the future, the king, juſtly offended at their violent proceedings, would loſe all inclination to grant them one day, voluntarily, what in ſo unfavourable a conjuncture they wanted to anticipate by force; and all the effect which an unſucceſsful attempt would produce, would be to create a diſtruſt of them in the catholic party, and put them upon their guard againſt them. I reminded Tremouille of the examples

1597. amples of thoſe illuſtrious proteſtants, who, on all occaſions, both by their words and conduct, ſhewed, that a proteſtant who acts conformable to his faith, has the good of the ſtate, and the true intereſt of his king always in view. Tremouille was ſo little moved with my letter, that he ſhewed it to every one, and made a public jeſt of it: but theſe deſigns not being ſupported by a ſufficient number of partiſans, fell to the ground.

The poſt of great maſter of the ordnance became vacant, at my fourth viſit to the camp. Saint-Luc *, looking between two gabions where, in appearance, there was ſcarcely room enough for a cannon-ball to enter, was unfortunately ſhot dead by one. The king was converſing alone with me when Villeroi and Montigny came to tell him the news, which they would not impart in the preſence of any other perſon, becauſe of the particular deſigns each had on this poſt. I came up to the king again when they had left him, and his majeſty informed me of Saint-Luc's death, and likewiſe that Villeroi and Montigny had aſked him for this poſt; the firſt for his ſon D'Alincourt, or his nephew Château-neuf-l'Aubepine †, and Montigny for himſelf. Saint-Luc had genius, readineſs of invention, was capable of great induſtry, and poſſeſſed of much perſonal courage; the only fault he could be charged with, was his reſigning himſelf up too much to a lively imagination, which furniſhing him with ſcheme after ſcheme, he conſumed in theory great part of that time which ſhould have been employed in practice. The king, however, thought none of the candidates capable of filling his place; D'Alincourt wanted fortitude, and, ſaid the king, has no colour on his nails: Chateauneuf ‡ concealed his want

* Francis D'Epinai de Saint-Luc: he is called the brave Saint-Luc. See his eulogy in Brantôme's *Vies des hommes illuſtr.* in the article *Saint-Luc*, tom. I.

† Charles de l'Aubepine, marquis de Chateau-neuf. Francis de La-Grange, ſeigneur de Montigny.

‡ He was made keeper of the ſeals in 1630, and reſigned them in 1633,

of

of real genius, under an appearance of affectation and grimace. Montigny was, in truth, valiant, and of warm affections; but theſe qualities were not ſufficient to entitle him to ſo conſiderable a poſt, as he was without expedient, order, or œconomy. 1597.

His majeſty, by talking to me in this manner, appeared to me to have no other reaſon for heſitating whether he ſhould beſtow this poſt upon me, but becauſe he thought the duties of it incompatible with thoſe of ſuperintendant of the finances. It was not difficult for me to undeceive him; and that inſtant he promiſed I ſhould have it; but deferred this proof of his friendſhip for me, till the ſiege was at an end, my preſence being, in his opinion, neceſſary at Paris; during which time he would leave the place vacant. I did not ſee the king all the following day, and unfortunately for me he ſaw the marchioneſs of Monceaux in that interval, who omitted nothing to prevail upon him to change his reſolution in favour of the elder D'Eſtrées, her father. The king reſiſted the intreaties of this lady, and even her tears, but he was not proof to her threats of throwing herſelf into a convent, if he refuſed her this favour. The fear of loſing her rekindling all the ardours of his paſſion, ſhe obtained the poſt for her father. The next day the king, with ſome confuſion for the weakneſs he had ſhewn, informed me of what had paſſed; however, in one circumſtance he took care of my intereſts, by conditioning with monſieur D'Eſtrées, who was utterly incapable of exerciſing this employment himſelf, that he ſhould exchange it for the firſt poſt under the crown which ſhould become vacant, and abſolutely reſign it (if a more conſiderable war ſhould happen to break out) in favour of him whom his majeſty ſhould appoint: and he again engaged his word to me, that I ſhould be the perſon.

I was ſatisfied with this aſſurance, and returned to Paris, where a few days afterwards I received news from the camp of the death of my youngeſt brother,

1597. brother, governor of Mante*, whom I had left in good health. Of four brothers his death reduced us to two. The king rejected all the applications that were made to him by ſeveral perſons for the government of Mante, to beſtow it without any ſolicitation upon me. I received this gift by the ſame letter which his majeſty wrote to me on occaſion of my brother's death, together with the writings neceſſary to inveſt me with all the rights of my brother, who died without children. I ſent Baltazar my ſecretary to Amiens, to procure my patent for the government, which as ſoon as I had received, I went to Mante to be acknowledged as governor, deſigning to ſtay there but four days.

The gentlemen of the council, ſuppoſing my abſence would be much longer, and probably followed by a reſignation of my employment in the finances, were full of joy; and one of the firſt advantages they drew from it, was to take proper meaſures for appropriating to themſelves part of thoſe ſums deſtined for the ſiege of Amiens. They all ſigned a letter to his majeſty, written in the name of the council, in which they repreſented to him that, having been ſupplied with every thing that was neceſſary for the ſiege during five months, his majeſty could not be ſurpriſed to hear that his funds were quite exhauſted, having nothing remaining but ſome bad arrears and aſſignments of payment. Henry, who knew not that I was at Mante, and who, by an effect of his ordinary vivacity, had not examined the ſignatures of this letter, was ſo much the more ſurpriſed at it, as I had poſitively aſſured him that I was able to furniſh him with the uſual ſums for four months longer, which was all the time the ſiege was expected to laſt. He exclaimed in very ſevere terms againſt the gentlemen of the council,

* Solomon de Bethune, baron de Roſny, and governor of Mante. This is the third of the four brothers, of whom we have ſpoke in the beginning of theſe Memoirs: he was only ſix and thirty years of age when he died.

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in the preſence of the chief officers of his army; nor for this once was I ſpared any more than the reſt: but after a moment's reflection, caſting his eyes upon the names ſubſcribed to this letter, among which he did not ſee mine, and learning from the courier that I was at Mante, he condemned himſelf immediately for his too precipitate anger; and that the reparation he made me might be complete, he read my anſwer to the letter he wrote me upon this occaſion, in the preſence of the ſame perſons. 1597.

His intereſt indeed required that he ſhould remove their apprehenſions. A ſiege ſo extremely laborious had ſometimes diſcouraged both them and their ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, that an abſolute deſertion would have been the conſequence of his treaſure being exhauſted, ſince, upon the leaſt delay of the remittances, the king could not hinder many from leaving him. All went on well to the end; if the beſieged defended themſelves with vigour, and made ſallies upon ſallies, they were attacked with the ſame ſpirit, and were always defeated.

The ſap was carried as far as the ramparts, and the beſiegers had juſt taken poſſeſſion of two caſemates, which they rendered uſeleſs to the beſieged, when the cardinal archduke, with the count of Mansfield, who ſerved under him in quality of lieutenant-general, thought it time to make an effort to prevent the reduction of the place: they marched towards it with an army conſiſting of between twelve and thirteen thouſand foot, and two or three thouſand horſe, and paſſed the river of Authie, with an intention to offer the king's forces battle, or at leaſt to throw a conſiderable ſupply into Amiens. All that endeavoured to enter were driven back *. The

* Perefix relates this fact very differently. "The archduke, ſays "he, came and lay before the "quarter called Longpré, on the "15th of September, at two in "the afternoon, when no-body "expected him. He might have "eaſily thrown three thouſand "men into Amiens; ſo great was "the conſternation which was "ſpread in the camp. Henry, "doubting of the ſucceſs of that "day, ſpoke out aloud, O Lord "(at the ſame time leaning upon

king

1597. king went himſelf to reconnoitre the enemy's army: he had a full view of it; and notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers, finding them a confuſed and diſorderly multitude, without diſcipline or conduct, reſolved to attack them; but at the firſt motion he made, the archduke retreated with precipitation*: probably it would not have been impoſſible to have forced the Spaniards to a battle, and to have beat them without diſcontinuing the ſiege: at leaſt Henry was always of this opinion. Nevertheleſs he yielded to the advice of the greateſt number, who were for allowing the archduke to retreat. After this, they applied themſelves cloſely

" the pommel of his ſaddle, with " his hat in his hand, and his eyes " lifted towards heaven) if 'tis to- " day that thou intendeſt to puniſh " me, as my ſins deſerve, I offer " up my life a ſacrifice to thy juſ- " tice, ſpare not the guilty; but, " O Lord, for thy great mercy's " ſake, pity this poor kingdom, " and chaſtiſe not the flock for the " errors and faults of the ſhepherd. " When he ſaw nothing appearing, " he withdrew diſſatisfied, ſaid he " gallantly, with the courteſy of " the Spaniards, who would not " advance one ſingle ſtep to re- " ceive him, and who, with a bad " grace, refuſed the honour which " he offered them." Perefixe, part 2. Moſt part of the hiſtorians agree, that the Spaniards let ſlip one of the fineſt opportunities they ever had, of beating the king's army: and this prince ſaid himſelf afterwards, that ſome of his chief officers told him all was now loſt. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 234.

* The king ſaid of the cardinal archduke, that he came on like a captain, but went off like a prieſt. La Curée very earneſtly deſired of the king, that he would be pleaſed to let him go and diſcover the poſture of the enemy's army, putting his majeſty in mind, that the Spaniards had entered France four times, and that he had every time attacked them, and was the firſt who had beaten them. Henry made anſwer, M. La Curée, don't be in a hurry; and at the ſame time he gave him leave. La Curée was much ſpoke of upon this occaſion for his valour, and the noble retreat he made before this army encamped at Betancourt, four leagues from Amiens. However, he afterwards ſaid, upon this occaſion, that when three or four hundred men retreat in this manner before a whole army, it is only the fault of that army, if they are not cut off. He was an undaunted man: for one day he flung himſelf into the midſt of the enemy, when by his hand being numbed with holding his piſtol, he could not uſe his ſword. There were even women dreſſed like men, who fought in the French army: four among them were very remarkable, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in taking priſoners with their own hands, and one eſpecially who went under the name of captain Gaſcon. Theſe particulars are taken from vol. 8929 of the king's MSS. See alſo on this head, tom. vi. des Memoires de la Ligue, in which are given very high commendations of the ſpirit, alertneſs, and valour of Henry IV.

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to the ſiege. The ravelin having been carried away, and the body of the place beginning to be ſapped, Amiens ſurrendered the latter end of September this year, which had been almoſt wholly employed in this ſiege. 1597.

When I look upon the great number of letters which I received from the king during the expedition of Amiens, I cannot help being ſurpriſed that a prince, who had the operations of a great ſiege upon his hands, and the care of a whole camp, ſhould yet be ſo attentive to all affairs within his kingdom, and with equal facility and equal diligence acquit himſelf of ſuch oppoſite employments. I ſhall ſpare the reader the trouble of peruſing all theſe letters, as likewiſe thoſe which his majeſty did me the honour to write to me afterwards. I reckoned above three thouſand, without taking in thoſe that I have neglected to preſerve, or have been loſt through the careleſſneſs of my ſecretaries. It would be too tedious to give a particular account of each: ſome of them I ſuppreſs in obedience to his majeſty's orders, as they regarded perſons whoſe reputation he had no deſire to wound, and whom I have doubtleſs more reaſon to avoid offending, as I ſhould do by revealing intrigues of ſtate, or merely gallantry, which have ſtill continued ſecret: as for the reſt, they turned wholly upon accounts, application of particular ſums, payments, penſions, and other things of the ſame nature, all of which were ſo dry and unentertaining, that they afford new matter for praiſes of this prince.

With regard to his finances, for example, he was ſo extremely exact as to make me give him an account once a week, of the money received, and the uſes it had been put to *. He does not miſs to remark that, in caſting ſome cannon, they wanted to rob him of a piece. In a remiſſion of ſix or ſeven thouſand crowns which he was obliged to

* A hundred crowns could not be expended, ſays Perefixe, but he knew whether they were well or ill laid out.

grant

1597. grant the people upon the land-taxes, he ſettles himſelf the gratification that ought to be repaid to certain pariſhes which had ſuffered moſt. He calculated exactly the number of the offices that were ſold, and the money ariſing from thence. He never forgot any perſon to whom the ſtate was indebted, or who had done it any ſervice, either in the diſtant provinces or the neighbouring kingdoms, aſſigning with the utmoſt diſcernment a particular fund for all. His great care was, that the fund appointed for the ſupport of the war ſhould not be broken in upon by any other payment, as appears when he mentions a recompence to be given to the ſieur de Vienne, who had brought back the city of Tours to its obedience, or the repayment of four thouſand crowns that he had borrowed of madam De Beaufort.

The number of his letters relating to his military affairs are prodigious. He calculated ſo juſtly the ſums neceſſary for the making of trenches and other works, together with the ſoldiers pay, that there was no danger of a miſtake in following him. The order he obſerved in the march of his troops was not regulated with leſs prudence, than that of the convoys of money which came to his camp, that the one might not be retarded, nor the other intercepted.

All this made up but one part of his cares. The letter wherein he ſpeaks of the repairs of Montreuil, Boulogne, and Abbeville; thoſe in which he expatiates upon the method of maintaining regularity in the provinces, obedience in the cities, ſubordination in the different bodies, on occaſion of the chamber of accounts which had failed in the reſpect they owed him; that in which he ſays, "I would "not mix the expences of maſquerades with theſe "deſtined for the uſe of my army;" for Mortier, who had provided dreſſes for a maſque, had cauſed the money laid out on that occaſion to be inſerted in a memorial of military expences; that alſo which contained

contained his reply to the offer which the city of Paris made him by her mayor and aldermen, to support, at their own expence, twelve hundred men, in consideration of which service, he discharged this city from paying the aids a second time, and many other of this kind; all these shew, that the same hand that was able to draw up a plan of attack, was equally capable of conducting the affairs of the cabinet. 1597.

The only thing he neglected was his personal maintenance; to make him think of it, Montglat, the first steward of his household, was forced to inform him, as he tells us in some of his letters, that he could scarce make the pot boil any longer. He was not ashamed to confess a thing which affected his domestic enemies only; it was their part to blush that he was destitute of apparel, arms, and horses: however, he afterwards found means to settle a fund for his own subsistence, which could not be confounded with any other; it was the mark of gold arising from the offices which were sold, that he destined for this use. Such were the subjects of many of the letters he wrote me this year, from which the reader may judge of those of the following years, the originals of which I keep with the utmost care, but shall only transcribe the most important amongst them. It is remarkable, that although there are a great number of them, and almost all very long, there are few, however, that are not written with his own hand, particularly those which are directly addressed either to the council or to me *.

* I observed in the preface the reasons that induced me not to transcribe here so many letters. They may be seen at the head of the new collection of Henry le Grand's: the originals of some of them are at this day to be seen in the fine museum of the duke de Sully, with marginal notes written by Maximilian de Bethune's own hand. But the most valuable pieces in this cabinet, beside a considerable number of original letters of Henry III. and other cotemporary princes, are papers of state, letters, serious or gay pieces, and other fragments, writ by Henry le Grand's own hand, and by his chief minister, or only signed or marked in the margin by them. We have already spoken of those

1597. I was preſent at the council which was held after the ſurrender of Amiens, upon the operations of the reſt of the campaign. Theſe propoſitions were made: to follow the enemy's army, ſeize ſome cities of Artois by ſurpriſe, and beſiege Dourlens * in form: upon which each one that was preſent gave his opinion; mine was, that it could not be expected the cardinal infant, who had ſo obſtinately refuſed to fight, when he had no other way of ſuccouring Amiens, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be obliged to come to an engagement now, when he was ſenſible he ſhould have all the king's forces to encounter, and had had ſufficient time to take meaſures to avoid it; nor was it more probable, that the enterpriſes upon the cities of Artois ſhould ſucceed, in the neighbourhood of ſo numerous an army: yet that either of theſe deſigns appeared to me more judicious than the project of laying ſiege to Dourlens, ſince that in fifteen days we might know what was to be expected from the former, and incur no ſhame by failing in them, whereas, by following the latter, we ſhould infallibly have the regret to find that we had conſumed a great deal of time, money, and troops, to no purpoſe. It was reſolved, that the two firſt meaſures ſhould be ſuddenly attempted, without renouncing the ſiege of Dourlens. The Spaniards kept upon their guard, and the French gained no other advantage by this attempt, than the honour of having endeavoured to finiſh the war by a ſingle action, which contributed as much as all the reſt, to make the king of Spain deſirous of peace.

It was quite the reverſe with the enterpriſe of Dourlens, upon which they were obſtinately bent. The king ſent me at Paris, whither I had now returned, his laſt reſolutions on that head. I did not

that concern the accommodation of the admiral De Villars, and other governors and towns, eſpecially in Normandy: we ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to mention particularly ſome others.

* A city of Picardy.

ſcruple

ſcruple to repreſent to him, in terms ſtill ſtronger, the reaſons that had hindered me from approving that propoſal; that his army, having ſuffered conſiderably at the ſiege of Amiens, was not in a condition to undertake a ſecond equally laborious, in the mouth of October, a ſeaſon when the ground about Dourlens, which is naturally fat and viſcous, was made impracticable by the rains, and within ſight of an army eager to ſeize an occaſion of being revenged. The king did not take my freedom amiſs, though he was not convinced by my reaſons. He wrote to me in anſwer, that the expedition of Dourlens was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of Amiens and Abbeville: that by putting Picardy in a ſtate of ſecurity, he ſhould facilitate the ſale of the new offices; and that he would take ſuch meaſures, that the ſiege ſhould not continue ſo long as I apprehended. 1597.

Accordingly Dourlens was inveſted the ninth of October, and on the thirteenth the rains had ſo much ſpoiled the ground and the roads, that the works could not be brought forward. Villeroi informed me in a letter, that they already repented of their attempt: in effect, the king ſet out almoſt immediately after, from his quarters at Beauval, and came to Belbat, where he gave orders for raiſing the ſiege, at which the ſoldiers had ſuffered ſo much during the ſhort time it had laſted, that they were upon the point of diſbanding. The king cauſed them all to be paid, placed them in winter quarters upon the frontier, left his light horſe there, retrenched part of the garriſons which the ſurpriſing of Amiens had obliged him to throw into the neighbouring places, and ſet forward for Paris, to ſpend the winter there, taking his rout through Rouen and Monceaux, where he ſtaid eight days.

From this place he ſent me orders to over-rule the difficulties which the chancellor de Chiverny raiſed in parliament, to erect his country of Armagnac and Lectoure into a preſidial; and to aſſign

1597. the money ariſing from it to the payment of coſts granted in parliament to the ſieur De Fontrailles, count of Armagnac, in a ſuit which he had carried in that court againſt his majeſty. As the princeſs might have ſome claims upon this money, by virtue of the ceſſion her brother deſigned to make her of all his eſtates in this province, the king deſired me to keep the matter ſecret, and uſed the ſame precautions with Fontrailles and the chancellor, the laſt of whom obſerved this command very ill; but his indiſcretion had no bad conſequence, the princeſs leaving the court of France a ſhort time after. In the ſame letter, the king ordered me to pay Demeurat his ſolicitor at Riom, as likewiſe La Corbiniere, who was employed to furniſh proviſions for the troops that were left in Picardy. It was in theſe intervals from buſineſs, that he extended his attention to the moſt inconſiderable objects. He made me give the ſieur De Piles, an old faithful ſervant, a reward of three thouſand crowns, and another of eight thouſand livres to Gobelin, to whom, at the ſame time, he repaid ſixteen thouſand livres, advanced by him for the ſupport of his houſhold. There was no name, even to that of the poor woman who gathered the taxes at Giſors, which was not mentioned ſomewhere in his letters.

The poverty of the people*, which was indeed exceſſive, having produced many blanks in the receipts for the taxes, the king ſuſpected that the gentlemen of the council, who were very zealous in repreſenting and exaggerating theſe deficiencies, would find means, when they had obtained a diſcharge for the people, to put large ſums in their own pockets, by concealing the diſcharge that had been granted; he ordered me firſt to get informa-

* Bougars, deſcribing in his letters the deſolation which the civil wars had cauſed in the kingdom, aſſures us, amongſt other things, that the highways were ſo overrun with briars and thorns, that their track could not but with much ado be diſcovered. Epiſt. 73. ad Camerar.

tion,

tion, whether the people were as much behind hand in the years 1594 and 1595, as thoſe gentlemen had made him believe; which would eaſily be done, by examining the accounts of receipts and expences given in by the general and particular receivers, and by viſiting the courts of the ſame provinces, whither I was already gone; and ſecondly to examine whether this deficiency of the taxes did not proceed from idleneſs in the collectors, and diſobedience in the people. 1597.

To conclude, his majeſty began to buſy himſelf at Monceaux with another matter of importance, that of drawing up articles, on which he deſired to come to an agreement with the proteſtants. This work he preſſed for ſome time upon the chancellor and Villeroi: I was likewiſe ordered to engage in it; but he would have had reaſon to complain a long time of the little attention which thoſe men paid to his deſign, if he had not come himſelf to Paris to put it in execution *.

For theſe two laſt affairs concerning the financiers and the proteſtants more leiſure was neceſſary than the king, upon his arrival at Paris, was able to afford them. He was obliged to turn his thoughts upon making new preparations for paſſing the following ſpring into Brittany, where the rebels, finding themſelves out of the view of their ſovereign, continued, with impunity, in diſorder and diſobedience. The duke of Mercœur, who was at their head, durſt not openly, however, favour their revolt; on the contrary, the letters he wrote to the king were filled with ſeeming tokens of ſubmiſſion; and during the ſpace of two years, it had been his whole ſtudy to amuſe him with feigned propoſals which he knew how to evade fulfilling. The king, on his ſide, had conſtantly diſſembled with the duke,

* 'He ſaid to a deputation of 'the townſmen, who came to com- 'pliment him after the expedition 'to Amiens, ſhewing them the 'marechal de Biron, "Here, gentlemen, is the marechal de Biron, "whom I freely preſent both to "my friends and enemies." Peref. part 2.

1597. and hitherto contented himself with favourably receiving the officers of this province, who, weary of Mercœur's delays, addressed themselves directly to his majesty: but at length, the king thinking it time to go and attack this rebellious subject even at his own doors *, this design, which was carried on with the utmost secrecy, employed us during the whole winter.

It would have answered no purpose to have undertaken it without a body of twelve hundred foot, and two thousand cavalry, and a train of artillery, consisting of twelve cannons at least; and it was not possible to draw out these troops from the six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, which his majesty thought necessary for the defence of the frontier of Picardy, and which he had committed to the care of the constable, assisted by the counsels of messieurs Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery. New funds were to be found for the support of all these troops; the taxes could not possibly be increased otherwise than by lessening the costs of the collection, which is with respect to the king a real increase. I likewise applied myself to collect the debts that were in arrear, and to recover such as were neglected; to which I joined some new imposts, few in number, and not oppressive.

The king, without these supplies, would have been obliged to have listened to propofals for a peace, and could not then have concluded one, but upon terms very advantageous to Spain. Pope Clement the eighth desired it with great ardour; and, long before the campaign of Picardy, had sent the cardinal of Florence †, in quality of legate, to propose it to the king; at the same time Calatagi-

* One of the duke de Mercœur's friends, having asked him one day, if ever he dreamed of being duke of Brittany, he made answer, "I "know not whether it be a dream, "but it has lasted these ten years "and upwards." The duchess de Mercœur's grandmother was Charlotte, heiress of the house of Penthievre, whose pretended rights to the duchy of Brittany were apparently the foundation of those of the duke de Mercœur.

† Alexander de Medicis.

ronne,

ronne*, patriarch of Conſtantinople, went by his holineſs's orders to Spain for the ſame purpoſe. The negotiation had been unfortunate in the beginning. The king, more irritated than diſcouraged by the invaſion of Amiens, only anſwered the cardinal haughtily, that he would defer hearing what he had to propoſe, till after he had regained this place. The king of Spain on the other hand, although it was with regret that he beheld the war renewed, yet founded great hopes upon his ſucceſs in Flanders, and particularly upon having ſurpriſed the city of Amiens, the poſſeſſion of which might draw along with it that of all the neighbouring country from the Oiſe to the Seine. 1597.

The expeditions of the campaign being more favourable to the French, drew both ſides nearer an accommodation. Philip knew Henry to be a prince with whom it was as difficult to keep as to gain advantages, and having beſides a foreboding in his own mind, that the illneſs he was ſeized with would be mortal, the fear of leaving at his death the prince his ſon expoſed to ſuch an enemy as the king of France, induced him to liſten to the advice of Calatagironne, who when he was aſſured of the king's inclinations, returned to Rome to acquaint the Pope with them, and was by his holineſs again deputed to France, to give the cardinal of Florence an account of his ſucceſs, and act in concert with him.

Accordingly their eminences renewed their former ſolicitations with Henry, and often repreſented to him, that the peace, in ſome meaſure, depended wholly upon him. The king, who was undeceived in his turn, and no longer influenced by thoſe great and flattering hopes, which, through a reliance upon the promiſes of his courtiers, he had entertained, ſaw the return of the two negotiators with pleaſure, tho' he appeared indifferent to their propoſals: at length he told them, that he would not be

* Father Bonaventure de Calatagironne, general of the order of Saint Francis.

1597. againſt a peace, provided Spain would give up all ſhe poſſeſſed in his dominions. The legates hinted, that this might poſſibly be obtained. And the king replied, that upon this plan he permitted them to treat and conclude a peace with the three miniſters he had left in Picardy, to whom he referred them; in the mean while, that he might not loſe the advantage of thoſe preparations he had made for war, nor waſte time ſo precious in mere negotiations, he ſet out for Brittany.

The king took his rout through Angers, in the beginning of March, ordering his army to follow him by ſhort journies: he permitted his council likewiſe to attend him, but not till it had made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſupplying his army in Brittany, and the troops and commiſſioners for the peace in Picardy, with all things that were needful. As I now had the abſolute direction of the council, and met with no oppoſition whatever, I quickly put matters in ſuch a ſtate as I thought I might join the king without any bad conſequence. I expected to have found him already far advanced in Brittany, and was greatly ſurpriſed to hear, as I drew near Angers, that the king had not left that city. The duke of Mercœur muſt have been infallibly ruined, but for the ſervice he received from meſdames De Mercœur * and De Martigues † upon this occaſion: they began with obtaining, by the intereſt of the marchioneſs De Monceaux, a paſſport to meet the king at Angers ‡; where, as ſoon as they arrived, they intirely gained over the king's miſtreſs to their party. The ducheſs de Mercœur offered her only daughter, to be diſpoſed of in marriage to

* Mary De Luxembourg, daughter to Sebaſtian De Luxembourg, duke of Penthievre and viſcount de Martigues, was wife to Philip Emanuel De Lorrain, duke de Mercœur.

† Mary de Beaucaire, daughter to John, ſeigneur De Peguillon, widow of Sebaſtian De Luxembourg, and mother to the ducheſs De Mercœur.

‡ They had come thither before the king, but were refuſed entrance; upon which they withdrew to Pont de Cé, till the king arrived at Angers.

whom-

whomſoever the king thought proper, hinting, to the marchioneſs, that ſhe would not be againſt marrying this opulent heireſs to her ſon Cæſar*. The marchioneſs of Monceaux was ſo agreeably flattered by this alliance, that from that moment, conſidering the duke of Mercœur's intereſts as her own, ſhe ſolicited for him with the utmoſt ardour and aſſiduity: the two ladies likewiſe employed every art to ſoften a prince remarkable for his complacency to the ſex. He ſuffered himſelf to be diſarmed by their ſubmiſſions, promiſes, and tears, and no longer thought of chaſtiſing the duke of Mercœur. 1597.

The moment I alighted at Angers I went to pay my reſpects to the king. This prince, who by the firſt word I uttered, and the turn only of my countenance, comprehended all I had in my mind, embraced me cloſely in his arms, and preſſing me to his boſom, "My friend," ſaid he to me, "you "are welcome; I am truly glad to ſee you here, "for I have had great need of you." "And I, "ſire," I replied (incapable of thoſe mean compliances that are dictated by flattery) "I am greatly "grieved to find you ſtill here." "It is long," ſaid the king, interrupting me, "that we have "learned to underſtand each other by half a word; "I gueſs already what you would ſay to me; but "if you knew what has paſſed, and to what a for-"wardneſs I have already brought affairs, you "would alter you opinion." I replied, that thoſe advantages, whatever they were, which he meant, he might have obtained, and many far more conſiderable, if, inſtead of ſtopping at Angers, he had preſented himſelf before Nantes, at the head of his army. The king endeavoured to excuſe himſelf upon the want of inſtruments proper for the ſiege of the city. I anſwered, that he would have had no occaſioned for them, becauſe Nantes would have

* "The eſpouſals were celebrated at Angers with the ſame magnificence as if he had been a lawfully-begotten ſon of France: he was but four years of age, and ſhe but ſix." Peref. 2d part.

rendered

1597. rendered them unneceſſary by a ſurrender, and perhaps have delivered * the duke of Mercœur into his hands. The firſt of theſe things it was highly probable would have happened, and the king acknowledged he believed ſo. After this confeſſion I added, "It is true, I do not find the bravery "of my prince in this inſtance, but I ſhall ſay "nothing, becauſe I know what it was that with-"held you." With this prince, I was not apprehenſive my ſincerity would have any bad conſequence. He confeſſed all to me, though with ſome little confuſion, alledging as an excuſe his compaſſion for thoſe who were in a ſtate of humiliation, and the fear of diſobliging his miſtreſs.

After this, the converſation turned wholly upon news: his majeſty had juſt received letters from the queen of England, expreſſing her deſire of ſending an ambaſſador to him, to induce him, as we imagined with great probability, to continue the war. By other letters, from Bellievre and Sillery, he was informed, that the legates had offered, in the name of Spain, to reſtore all the cities, except Cambray, that had been taken during the war. The king's carrying troops into Brittany, without being under a neceſſity of leaving Picardy defenceleſs, had given great ſurpriſe to Spain, and ſatisfaction to the court of London, ever ſolicitous to humble the pride of that crown. I adviſed Henry not to refuſe a peace for the ſake of a ſingle city, and to be ſatisfied with having driven the enemy out of Picardy and Brittany.

This latter province, which had panted for tranquility a long time, was ſenſible how much it owed to his majeſty, whoſe preſence at the head of an army was the only thing which could procure it

* All the hiſtorians agree, that Henry IV. was in a condition to have made the duke de Mercœur ſmart for his diſobedience: he would never ſuffer that this duke ſhould ſend him any perſon in his name to Vervins; and proteſted, that he would rather endure a continual war, than conſent that one of his ſubjects ſhould ſeem to treat with him thus like a foreign prince.

that

that happineſs. The party of Mercœur became the king's party. The Spaniards were not in a condition to hold out long againſt their united forces. Blavet * and Douarnenes, where they were cantoned in the greateſt numbers, could not fail of yielding ſoon to the common lot, and a few days were ſufficient to clear the province entirely of its foreign enemies, who afterwards aſſembled her ſtates, in order to prove her gratitude to the king, by granting him a conſiderable ſubſidy. His majeſty commanded me to continue my rout to Brittany, and while I waited there for his arrival, to pay the troops, and quarter them in caſerns in the neighbourhood of Rennes and Vitré, with ſtrict orders to keep up an exact diſcipline there: after which I was to go to Rennnes, to repreſent his majeſty's perſon in the ſtates, to haſten their reſolutions concerning the ſums that were promiſed, and uſe all my authority to facilitate the levying it. The king having an inclination to ſtay ſome days longer at Angers, laid hold of the pretence, that ſomething was ſtill wanting to the treaty with the duke of Mercœur. 1597.

I had no reaſon to be offended with the ducheſs of Mercœur for having endeavoured to procure the moſt favourable conditions ſhe could; yet I ſo far reſented her making the king the dupe of her arts, that if his majeſty had not obliged me to make her a viſit, I would have left Angers without ſeeing her; although I was related to this lady by the ſame ſide by which I had the honour to be allied to the royal family, that is, by the houſe of Luxembourg †.

The king remonſtrated to me, that if the conſideration of being related to her, together with the laws of politeneſs, were not ſufficient to induce me

* Blavet is now called Port Louis, and lies in the biſhoprie of Vannes: Douarnenes is another port and road, in the biſhopric of Quimper.

† Jane De Bethune, daughter to Robert, the ſixth anceſtor to M. De Sully, was married to John De Luxembourg.

to

1597. to pay her this reſpect, yet the ducheſs of Mercœur deſerved it on account of that regard ſhe had for me, which the knowledge of my intentions could not alter. In effect, I was received by her and madam De Martigues with the higheſt diſtinction and reſpect. Madam de Mercœur, after ſome gentle reproaches for having endeavoured to hurt her intereſt, and that of her daughter, my little kinſwoman, told me, that there was nothing ſhe ſo ardently deſired, as to be able to put the affairs of the duke her huſband into my hands, that I might conclude this treaty with the king in whatſoever manner I thought fit. I anſwered the ducheſs, that while my reſpect and adherence to her were not inconſiſtent with the ſervice of the king, which always carried me againſt any other conſideration, ſhe ſhould find no-body more diſpoſed to ſerve her than myſelf.

I went to Château-Gonthier that evening, and reached Vitré the next day, where I ſaw but too plainly of what importance it was to be extremely cautious and circumſpect in quartering troops, that nothing might be neglected. Meſſieurs De Salignac and De Mouy, marechals de camp, were of great uſe to me upon this occaſion. Tranquillity was ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed in all this part of the country, that the countrymen who at firſt had retreated to the woods, and fortified themſelves there, where every moment they were ready to come to blows, now returned to their houſes; and the city of Rennes thought that ſome acknowledgment was due to me: for this reaſon, when the ſtates were aſſembled, a fine apartment was prepared for me during my abode in that city, at the houſe of mademoiſelle de la Riviere: ſhe was a woman of wit and gallantry, who being always looking out for pleaſures for herſelf, was the fitter for the commiſſion with which ſhe was charged, of engaging me in all the entertainments that are commonly found in cities like Rennes, opulent and polite. If the life

life of a miniſter was to be at all times like that which I led in this city, and which laſted almoſt ſix weeks, it would have in reality all thoſe charms which are ſo falſly attributed to it. I had no other employment than being preſent at the aſſembly of the ſtates, who, with all poſſible gratitude, agreed to the ſervice the king required of them, and granted him, without any oppoſition, eight hundred thouſand crowns; of which one hundred was to be paid the firſt month, as much the ſecond, and afterwards two hundred each month, till the whole was paid. To furniſh this ſum, a tax was created of four crowns upon a pipe of wine. The aſſembly were deſirous of adding a preſent of ſix thouſand crowns to me, which I refuſed, without examining whether this was among the number of thoſe occaſions when I might have been permitted to have accepted a preſent. The king, to whom the merit of my diſintereſtedneſs had been highly exaggerated, and who had himſelf beſtowed more praiſes on my conduct in the aſſembly, than it deſerved, was reſolved, that the expence of a preſent to me ſhould be his, and inſtead of ſix, gave me ten thouſand crowns. During ſix and twenty years, which I had ſpent in his majeſty's ſervice, I had never received ſo conſiderable a gift. On this occaſion there was a kind of generous conteſt betwixt the king and the province of Brittany; which at laſt obtained, that theſe ten thouſand crowns ſhould be added to the eight hundred thouſand the aſſembly had offered his majeſty. 1597.

The treaty with the duke of Mercœur being completed, the king ſent it to the chamber of accounts at Rennes to be regiſtered. As ſome private articles in this treaty were not expreſſed, the court thought it had a right to refuſe regiſtring it, without certain reſtrictions with reſpect to theſe articles. Henry, who knew better than any other prince in the world, how far the power of theſe ſovereign courts extended, and always appeared careful not

1597. to make the leaſt encroachment upon it, reſented this refuſal with becoming ſpirit; and, together with the diſpatches which I received from him regularly every day, he ſent me an order in writing for the chamber of accounts, in which he obſerved, that this court could not be ignorant, that in all treaties or acts relating merely to war or the king's perſon, the ſovereign of France took counſel with no perſon, nor demanded his letters to be regiſtred but as a formality, which otherwiſe was little eſſential; he reproved them for their raſh conduct, and ordered them to repair their diſobedience by an abſolute ſubmiſſion to his will.

The king did not ſhew leſs firmneſs on another occaſion which likewiſe regarded the ſovereign courts. Theſe bodies aſſumed the privilege of furniſhing immediately but of half the ſum which the aſſembly had taxed them for their contingent, and endeavoured to take a more convenient and more diſtant time for the payment of the reſt: they made the ſame difficulties about their ſhare of the neceſſary contributions for the maintenance of thoſe troops which they had demanded themſelves. Henry eaſily comprehended, that they would not have had recourſe to this artifice, but to avoid contributing any thing, as ſoon as he had quitted the province: therefore he ſent me word, that it was his will they ſhould furniſh the whole tax; which was done accordingly. Their murmurs on account of paying the troops ceaſed, as ſoon as they were convinced that the tranquillity of their province depended upon this regulation, and they were the firſt after that to approve of my conduct.

Theſe ſeveral orders were ſent to me from Nantes, to which place the king had advanced, after the treaty with the duke of Mercœur had been agreed upon, to attend to two affairs of importance, namely, the edict for the proteſtants, and the reception of the two ambaſſadors from England and Holland. His majeſty believing his preſence in Picardy was

neceſſary to forward the peace, intended to have left Nantes in a month's time, without taking a journey to Rennes, which he had looked upon as uſeleſs; and had already given orders for the march of the five regiments of Navarre, Piedmont, the Iſle of France, Boniface, and Bréauté, which he drew out of Brittany, to fortify the frontiers of Flanders. The king having informed me of his deſign with reſpect to theſe regiments, I repreſented to him, that the probability of a peace being now changed to an abſolute certainty, it was neceſſary to diſband part of his troops, and leſſen the number of his garriſons, as being a burden too heavy for the kingdom to ſupport, and that two of thoſe regiments were now ſufficient for Picardy; accordingly, only the two firſt were ſent thither, under the conduct of the marechal De Briſſac. I even inſiſted ſo much upon the neceſſity there was for his majeſty to ſhew himſelf at leaſt in the capital of Brittany, that the king, altering his ſcheme, reſolved to come and ſpend ſome days there before his return to Paris; and for that purpoſe, to diſpatch, as ſoon as poſſible, thoſe two affairs which detained him at Nantes. 1597.

It was now become more neceſſary than ever, to regulate that concerning the proteſtants: theſe people aſſumed ſuch a licentiouſneſs of tongue in France, that the king himſelf did not eſcape the rage and malignity of their invectives. The remonſtrances his majeſty had made to the authors of the plot before mentioned, were ſo far from bringing them back to their duty, that, in appearance, it ſerved only to make them uſe their utmoſt efforts to bring the whole proteſtant party in their ſeveral ſynods *, to the moſt violent reſolutions: madam De Rohan did not ſcruple to cabal with many of them, in order to carry, by a plurality of voices,

* At Saumur, Loudon, Vendôme, and Châtelleraut: of theſe we have ſpoken before, on occaſion of the cabals of the proteſtant party during the ſiege of Amiens.

the

1597. the propoſal of taking up arms, and forcing the king to receive ſuch conditions as they ſhould preſcribe to him; in which attempt ſhe was ſeconded, with ſurpriſing aſſiduity, by D'Aubigné, remarkable for his ſatirical turn, and propenſity to ſlander*. It was he who in thoſe aſſemblies had the aſſurance to mention, that they ought no longer to place any confidence in a prince who, together with his religion, had abjured every ſentiment of his affection, good-will, and gratitude, for the proteſtants; that nothing but neceſſity forced him to apply to them and treat them with regard; that when this was over, he would have no longer any care about their conſciences, liberties, or lives; that the peace with Spain, which was upon the point of being concluded, would plunge the party into the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſince the ſole motive that induced Henry to conſent to it, was to unite himſelf with that crown and the pope, to ſacrifice them to their common hatred; and therefore, that nothing remained to be done, but to take advantage of the king's perplexity during ſo toilſome a ſiege †, the diſtreſs he was in for money, the need he had of their aſſiſtance, and the power which the duke of Mercœur ſtill poſſeſſed in Brittany, to obtain by force what Henry would afterwards refuſe to grant them.

To incite the members of theſe aſſemblies to a revolt, the proteſtants thought the blackeſt calumnies were lawful. D'Aubigné was not aſhamed to repreſent Henry there, as a prince to whom all religions were indifferent, and who was only zealous for that which would ſecure him a throne ‡. This was the notion he wanted to give of his converſion.

* He is ſuppoſed to be the author of the Confeſſion of Sancy, the Adventures of the baron de Fœneſte, and other lampoons.

† The ſiege of Amiens.

‡ "There are three things," ſaid Henry IV. "which the world "is very unwilling to believe; and "yet, for all that, they are ſtill "true and moſt certain; namely, "that the queen of England died "a maid; that the archduke is a "great general; and that the king "of France is a very good catho-"lic." Journal de L'Etoile, p. 233.

According

According to him, the ſuppoſed injuries offered to the proteſtants left no room to doubt of the new ſyſtem of politics that Henry had formed for himſelf. Thoſe injuries opened to D'Aubigné a vaſt field for exclamation; the leaſt of them were repreſented as outrages of the moſt violent nature, and inſtances of the deepeſt treachery; and thus, without any regard to the extreme injuſtice he was guilty of, he placed to the king's account all thoſe hardſhips which proceeded ſolely from the catholics or the court of Rome. The duke of Bouillon, leaving others to declaim, ſupported D'Aubigné, by his uncommon dexterity in ſowing diviſion between the king and all that came near him, whether catholics or proteſtants, and created him ſufficient employment, that he might not for a long time be at liberty to turn his arms againſt him. The taking of Mende by Foſſeuſe, and the fitting out of the count D'Auvergne, were the conſequence of theſe counſels. 1598.

None of theſe perſons neglected to make their court to the ambaſſadors from England and Holland, as ſoon as they arrived at Nantes; and depended ſo much the more upon drawing them into their ſchemes, as they were not ignorant, that it was particularly recommended to them to prevent a peace with Spain. Theſe ambaſſadors were, Lord Cecil*, ſecretary to queen Elizabeth, and Juſtin de Naſſau, admiral of the Republic: they demanded a private audience of the king; or, if that could not be obtained, at leaſt to have no one preſent but Lomenie and me. But I was then employed at Rennes.

If the two ambaſſadors had given credit to the proteſtants, all they had to do was to intimidate the king, and force him by menaces to come into their

* This was not the ſecretary himſelf, whoſe name was William, but his ſon Robert. De Thou, liv. cxx. See likewiſe Chronol. Septennaire for the year 1598, concerning this interview of Henry IV. with the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors.

1598. deſigns; but either this was not in their power, or being convinced of the proteſtants injuſtice, they thought it beneath them to be influenced by their paſſions; and therefore took no notice to the king of what they had ſuggeſted. They had indeed offers to make which were much more likely to prevail with a prince whoſe inclination for war they were not ignorant of: the Engliſh ambaſſador offered, in the name of the queen his miſtreſs, ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to be maintained at her expence; and Naſſau four thouſand foot, and a large train of artillery completely furniſhed and ſupplied, beſides a particular ſupply, which they hinted would be very conſiderable, provided Henry would endeavour to retake Calais and Ardres. Upon the ſuppoſition that the king appeared inclined to accept theſe offers, the two ambaſſadors had orders to conclude a treaty of alliance immediately between France, England, and the Low-Countries, againſt Spain, and to ſtipulate that neither of theſe three powers ſhould liſten to any propoſal, either for a truce or treaty with the common enemy, but with the conſent of the two others.

Happily the king eſcaped this dangerous ſnare; and the conſideration of the preſent ſtate of his kingdom had more weight with him than all others. He thanked the ambaſſadors with great politeneſs, and introduced his anſwer by aſſuring them that, although he could not accept the offers of their ſovereigns, yet he would not depart from that friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between them; and that the peace he was going to conclude with Spain (for he did not conceal the terms he was upon with Philip) ſhould not hinder him from keeping up the ſame correſpondence with them as before, nor from ſupplying them with money, when they had occaſion for it, with this only precaution, that theſe loans were taken under the title of acquittances of debts, to give no pretence for a quarrel with Spain.

He afterwards, with the ſame ſincerity, explained to them all his reaſons for putting an end to the war. His kingdom, he told them, was not like England and Holland, ſecured by nature from the attacks of her enemies, but open on all ſides; his caſtles unfortified, and deſtitute of ammunition; his marine weak, his provinces laid waſte, and ſome of them reduced to mere deſarts. He went on to give a more particular deſcription of the abuſes which had crept into the government, and introduced a thouſand diſorders; all ſubordination being deſtroyed by the licentiouſneſs that had been practiſed with impunity amidſt the confuſion of civil and foreign wars; his power weak and unſtable, and the royal authority, as well as the moſt ſacred laws of the ſtate, equally diſregarded. Theſe evils could only be remedied by a peace; and if that remedy was ever ſo little delayed, France was every hour approaching to its ruin; the diſtemper would ſoon reach the heart, and no human help would then be able to remove it. Henry did not forget to ſtrengthen theſe motives, by comparing his preſent ſituation, in all theſe reſpects, with that of England and Holland, who could engage in a war, on which their ſafety depended, conſiſtently at the ſame time with their ſafety and their intereſt; and the king drew this parallel with ſo much clearneſs and judgment, and ſo exact a knowledge of the ſtate of thoſe countries, as to make them feel the truth of what he was ſaying; ſo that the two foreigners, having nothing to oppoſe againſt ſuch convincing arguments, looked upon each other in amazement. The king gave them to underſtand, that, when he had ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, he ſhould then, with more aſſurance of ſucceſs, renew his former deſigns againſt the empire, and the houſe of Auſtria; but that theſe two enterprizes were not of a nature to be executed at one and the ſame time. The ambaſſadors, for form's ſake, thought they ought to diſſuade his majeſty from this reſolution,

1598.

1598. but did it ſo faintly, being themſelves ſtruck with the force of his arguments, that, before the conference was ended, the king brought them over intirely to his opinion, and obliged them to confeſs, that the peace he was going to conclude was for the advantage of all Europe. They left France ſoon after, and filled their reſpective countries with the opinion they had themſelves conceived of the great wiſdom and extraordinary abilities of the king of France.

In effect, what innumerable miſeries would this prince have drawn upon his kingdom, if following the wild emotions of hatred and revenge, rather than the calm dictates of wiſdom and prudence, he had at that inſtant engaged in a war, which, though in his power to begin, was not to end! How dreadful the conſequence, if chance, which arbitrarily diſpoſes of all the events of war, ſhould have favoured the enemies of France! But granting that his arms were victorious, how little preferable to a defeat is that ſucceſs, which a prince muſt purchaſe at ſo dear a rate, as by the alienation of his domaines, by the anticipating and mortgaging his revenues, by the ruin of commerce and agriculture, from whence France derives her chief ſupport, and laſtly, by the utter devaſtation of his provinces! Such evils cannot be balanced by the acquiſition of new territories, the poſſeſſion of which keeps the conqueror in perpetual alarms, and, remaining as ſo many hateful monuments to the enemy of the ambition and injuſtice of him that gained them, cheriſhes and keeps alive thoſe ſeeds of envy, hatred, and diſtruſt, which ſooner or later never fail to produce the ſame miſeries with which the kingdom was before overwhelmed: on this account, I am not afraid to ſay, that, in the preſent ſtate of Europe, it is almoſt equally unhappy for its princes to ſucceed or miſcarry in their enterpriſes; and that the true way of weakening a powerful neighbour,

is

is not to carry off his ſpoils, but to leave them to be ſhared by others. 1598.

The inſolence of the proteſtant cabal was totally depreſſed, when they found that the ambaſſadors, upon whom they had ſo greatly relied, were entirely brought over to the king's opinion; and, not doubting but that a peace would now be ſoon concluded, they thought only of procuring reaſonable conditions. It was happy for them that, at a time when it would have been eaſy to puniſh them for their unjuſtifiable proceedings, they had a prince to deal with whoſe reaſon was always ſtronger than his reſentment. Both ſides were then very induſtrious to draw up that famous agreement known by the name of the edict of Nantes, by which the rights of the two religions were afterwards both clearly explained and ſolidly eſtabliſhed. Schomberg, the preſident De Thou, Jeannin, and Calignon, were employed to draw it up, of which all I ſhall ſay is, that, by this edict, it was provided that the French calviniſts, who till then had been only privileged by truces reſumed and continued, ſhould have a fixed and durable eſtabliſhment *. All that now remained to be done, was to make this treaty to be regiſtered and confirmed by the parliaments and ſovereign courts, and to begin with thoſe of Paris; which was deferred till the king's return to that city.

* The edict of Nantes was ſigned the 13th of April. De Thou ſays, that the judicial confirmation of it was put off till after the departure of the legate, whom they were loth to ſend away diſcontented. The conceſſions this edict contains more favourable than thoſe that had been formerly granted them are, that thereby they were admitted to places of truſt, both in the courts of juſtice and in the finances: all the reſt is no ways eſſentially different from the edict of pacification that paſſed in 1577. Bayle aſcribes the honour of compoſing the edict of Nantes to the reformed miniſter Chamier. See it in Matthieu, tom. II. book ii. and in ſeveral other hiſtorians. There were likewiſe ſome ſecret articles, of which the moſt diſadvantageous for the calviniſts is that which forbids them the exerciſe of their religion in a great many towns and particular diſtricts, as Rheims, Soiſſons, Dijon, Sens, &c. becauſe Henry IV. had ſo engaged himſelf by particular treaties before, with the different lords of the league.

1598. Having paid what he owed to the proteſtants*, according to the exacteſt juſtice, the king thought himſelf not obliged to ſhew much regard to thoſe who ſtill continued to ſtir ſedition, ſuch as the duke of Bouillon in particular, who had moſt reaſon to reproach himſelf, and for once, he reſolved to ſpeak to him like a maſter: he had now acquired a right to do this, even though we ſuppoſe him not to have had it in the character of king. He propoſed as ſoon as he arrived at Rennes, to execute this deſign, and took his rout thither without delay. The duke of Bouillon then lodged at the houſe of l'Allcué, where he was confined to his bed by the gout; the king went to viſit him, and after the firſt compliments, ſignifying that it was his pleaſure to be left alone with the duke, the reſt of the company quitted the chamber, and his majeſty deſired that he would, without interruption, hear what he had to ſay to him. He began with a particular detail of all his proceedings, to ſhew that he was not ignorant of any of them: he dwelt chiefly upon ſome ſteps the duke had taken ſince the edict of Nantes, and were therefore ſo much the more criminal, as it ought to have prevented him from entertaining a thought of revolting againſt a prince who had ſo generouſly adhered to his intereſt. The duke attempted to offer ſomething in his excuſe, but he was ſtopped by the king, who told him, that without any juſtification, he would from that day forget all that was paſſed; and ſince he had pardoned whatever the moſt inveterate malice had been able to ſuggeſt to his enemies, he had no inclination to exclude from his favour an old ſervant, with whom he had been pleaſed for a long time: in concluſion, he adviſed the duke, with an air of authority, which became him better as he uſed it ſeldom, to make good uſe of the counſel he

* Le Grain mentions a good ſaying of Henry IV. One day as the proteſtants were importunately teaſing him with their demands, "Apply to my ſiſter," ſays he to them, "for your affairs are now "fallen into the hands of women "to conduct them."

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was now giving him as his friend, to think no more of his paſt behaviour, but for the ſake of acting in a manner quite contrary; for if he ſhould again fail in his reſpect to his king and maſter, he was reſolved to make uſe of that convenience which the peace now eſtabliſhed in the kingdom gave, to bring him to puniſhment: after which the king, without waiting for his anſwer, went out and left him to his own thoughts. 1598.

The inhabitants of Brittany were charmed with the affability of their king, and his complaiſance in being preſent at all the entertainments with which the ladies contended to divert him. Henry divided his time between theſe aſſemblies, the ſport of running at the ring, balls, and tennis-playing, without leſſening his aſſiduity about the marchioneſs of Monceaux, who was very far advanced in her pregnancy.

In the midſt of theſe amuſements, the king at certain intervals appeared ſo penſive and reſerved, that it was not difficult to gueſs ſome ſecret uneaſineſs preyed upon his mind; and I was the more convinced of it when his majeſty, who often diverted himſelf with hunting, ordered me twice to follow him apart, that he might have an opportunity of converſing with me alone; yet when I did ſo he was ſilent. I then remembered that the ſame thing had happened at Saint-Germain, and Angers; and I concluded that he had a deſign in view, which he had ſome difficulty to diſcloſe to me, knowing with what freedom I ſometimes oppoſed his opinions; but what this deſign was I could not poſſibly gueſs. Returning from the abovementioned viſit to the duke of Bouillon, his majeſty being at the foot of the ſtaircaſe, ſaw me as I entered the court, and calling me, made me go with him into the garden, which was extremely large and beautiful, holding my hand with his finger between mine as uſual, then ordered the door to be ſhut, and that no perſon ſhould be allowed to enter.

1598. This prelude made me expect to hear a ſecret of great conſequence. Henry did not enter upon it immediately, but, as if he had not ſufficient reſolution to explain himſelf, began to tell me what had juſt paſſed between him and the duke of Bouillon. This converſation was followed by news relating to the negotiations of Vervins, and led him inſenſibly to reflect on the advantages France would receive from a peaceable government. One circumſtance, the king ſaid, gave him great uneaſineſs, which was that, not having children by the queen his wife, it would anſwer no purpoſe to be at ſo much trouble to procure peace and tranquility to his kingdom, ſince, after his death, it muſt neceſſarily fall into its former calamities, by the diſputes that would ariſe between the prince of Condé and the other princes of the blood, concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown. His majeſty confeſſed to me, that this was his motive for deſiring, with ſuch ardour, to leave ſons behind him. Unleſs his marriage with the princeſs Margaret could be diſſolved, it was not poſſible for him to be abſolutely happy; but the informations he received from the archbiſhop of Urbin, meſſieurs Du Perron, D'Oſſat, and De Marquemont, his deputies at Rome, of the pope's favourable diſpoſitions in reſpect to that affair, gave him great hopes of its ſucceſs: in effect, Clement the eighth, who was as good a politician as any prince in Europe, revolving in his mind what means were moſt likely to hinder France, and the other chriſtian kingdoms, from falling again into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, could find none ſo effectual as to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown of France, by authoriſing Henry to engage in a ſecond marriage, which might produce him male children.

Our converſation being fixed upon this ſubject, it was eaſy for me to perceive that it was from hence his majeſty's uneaſineſs proceeded; but I could not ſo ſoon know what particular circumſtance it was that diſturbed him. The king began to conſider with

with me what princeſs of Europe he ſhould chuſe for his wife, in caſe his marriage with Margaret of Valois ſhould be diſſolved; but indeed he ſet out with a declaration which ſhewed any reflections on that head would be fruitleſs. 1598.

"That I may not repent, ſaid he, of taking ſo dangerous a ſtep, nor draw upon myſelf a misfortune which is with juſtice ſaid to exceed all others, that of having a wife diſagreeable in perſon and mind, it is neceſſary that in her whom I marry I ſhould find theſe ſeven things, beauty, prudence, ſoftneſs, wit, fruitfulneſs, riches, and a royal birth;" but there was not one in all Europe, with whom he appeared entirely ſatisfied. "I ſhould have no objection to the infanta of Spain," purſued Henry, "although ſhe is a little advanced in years, provided that with her I could marry the Low-Countries, even though I ſhould be obliged to reſtore to you the earldom of Bethune: neither would I refuſe the princeſs * Arabella of England, if, as it is publicly ſaid, that crown really belongs to her, ſhe were only declared preſumptive heireſs of it; but there is no reaſon to expect that either of theſe things will happen. I have alſo heard of ſome princeſſes of Germany, whoſe names I have forgot; but the women of that country don't ſuit me: I ſhould always fancy I had a hogſhead of wine in bed with me; beſides, I have been told that France had once a queen of that country; who had like to have ruined it: all theſe conſiderations have given me a diſguſt to the German ladies. The ſiſters of prince Maurice have likewiſe been mentioned to me; but beſides that they are proteſtants, which would give umbrage to the

* The marchioneſs Aibelle, or Arabella Stuart. She was daughter to Charles, earl of Lenox, who was grandſon to Margaret queen of Scotland, eldeſt ſiſter to Henry VIII. Her couſin-german James VI. king of Scotland, having in 1603 been declared lawful heir to queen Elizabeth, the following year a conſpiracy was formed in her favour; and ſhe died in 1616, a priſoner in the Tower of London. See the hiſtorians.

"court

1598. "court of Rome and the more zealous catholics, "they are daughters of a nun; which, together "with a certain reaſon that I'll inform you of ſome "other time, has prevented my entertaining any "thoughts of them. The duke of Florence has a "niece who is ſaid to be handſome, but ſhe is de- "ſcended from one of the moſt inconſiderable fa- "milies in chriſtendom that bear the title of prince, "it not being above threeſcore or fourſcore years "ſince her anceſtors were only the firſt citizens in "Florence; ſhe is likewiſe of the ſame race with the "queen-mother Catherine, who did ſo much miſ- "chief to France, and to me in particular.

"Theſe," continued the king, obſerving that I liſtened attentively to him, "are all the foreign "princeſſes that I have any knowledge of: of thoſe "within my own kingdom my niece of Guiſe would "pleaſe me beſt *, notwithſtanding the malicious "reports that have been ſpread that ſhe loves *poulets* "in paper better than in a fricaſſee; for my part I "not only believe thoſe reports to be falſe, but "ſhould rather chuſe a wife who is a little fond of "gallantry, than one who wanted underſtanding; "but I am apprehenſive that the violent affection "ſhe diſcovers for her family, particularly for her "brothers, would create ſome diſorders in the king- "dom."

After this the king named all the other princeſſes in France, but to as little purpoſe: he acknowledged that ſome were beautiful, and genteel, ſuch as the eldeſt of the duke of Maïenne's two daughters, although of a brown complexion, the two daughters likewiſe of the duke of Aumale, and three of the duke of Longueville; but all theſe were either too

* Louiſa Margaret of Lorrain: ſhe was a very beautiful princeſs. It was propoſed, at the time of the ſiege of Paris, for her to marry Henry IV. in order to unite the two parties. The ſarcaſtic lampoons of that time charge her with carrying on an intrigue with the duke de Bellegarde, maſter of the horſe: and what Henry ſays here of *poulets*, is taken from a ſong that was made againſt mademoiſelle de Guiſe, which may be ſeen in L'Etoile, for the year 1596.

young

young, or were not in his taſte. He afterwards named mademoiſelle Rohan, the princeſs of Conti's daughter, of the houſe of Lucé; mademoiſelles Luxembourg and Guémené; but the firſt was a proteſtant, and the ſecond not old enough, and the perſons of the two others did not pleaſe him: and all for ſome reaſon or other were excluded. The king cloſed this enumeration by ſaying, that although theſe ladies might be all agreeable enough to him in their perſons, yet he ſaw no way to be aſſured that they would bring him heirs, or that he could ſuit himſelf to their tempers, or be convinced of their prudence, three of the ſeven conditions without which he had reſolved never to marry; ſince, if he entered into an engagement of that kind, it would be with a deſign to give his wife a ſhare in the management of all his domeſtic affairs: and that, as according to the courſe of nature he ſhould die before her, and leave children very young behind him, it would be neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be able to ſuperintend their education, and govern the kingdom during a minority. 1598.

Weary at length of endeavouring to no purpoſe to find out what the king aimed at by this diſcourſe, "But what is it you mean, ſire, ſaid I, by ſo many "affirmatives and negatives; and what am I to con- "clude by them, but that you are deſirous to mar- "ry, and yet cannot find a woman upon earth "qualified to be your wife? By the manner in "which you mentioned the Infanta Clara Eugenia, "it ſhould ſeem that great heireſſes are moſt to your "taſte; but can you expect that heaven ſhould "raiſe a Margaret of Flanders, or a Mary of Bur- "gundy, from the dead for you, or at leaſt reſtore "the queen of England to her youth?" I added ſmiling, "that for proof of the other qualities which "he demanded, I ſaw no better expedient than to "bring all the beauties of France together, from "the age of ſeventeen to that of twenty-five, that "by talking with them in perſon, he might know

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1598. "the turn of their temper and genius; and that for "the reſt he ſhould refer himſelf to experienced "matrons, to whom recourſe is had on ſuch occa- "ſions." Then beginning to talk more ſeriouſly, I declared that, "in my opinion, his majeſty might "contract his expectations, by ſtriking off a great "fortune and royal birth, and content himſelf with "a wife who was likely to keep his heart, and bring "him fine children; but that here again he muſt "content himſelf with mere probability, there be- "ing many beautiful women incapable of child- "bearing, and many illuſtrious fathers unhappy in "their offſpring; but that whatever his children "ſhould prove, the blood from which they ſprung "would ſecure the reſpect and obedience of the "French nation."

"Well," interrupted the king, "ſetting aſide "your advice concerning this aſſembly of beauties, "with which I am mightily diverted, and your "ſage reflection that great men have often children "who poſſeſs none of their qualities, I hope to have "ſons whoſe actions ſhall exceed mine. Since you "confeſs that the lady whom I marry ought to be "of an agreeable temper, beautiful in her perſon, "and of ſuch a make as to give hopes of her bring- "ing children, reflect a little, whether you do not "know a perſon in whom all theſe qualities are "united." I replied, that I would not take upon me to decide haſtily upon a choice wherein ſo much conſideration was requiſite, and to which I had not yet ſufficiently attended. "And what would you "ſay," returned Henry, "if I ſhould name one, "who, I am fully convinced, poſſeſſes theſe three "qualities." I ſhould ſay, ſire, replied I, with great ſimplicity, that you are much better acquaint- ed with her than I am, and that ſhe muſt neceſſarily be a widow, otherwiſe you can have no certainty with regard to her fruitfulneſs. "This is all that "you would deſire," ſaid the king; "but if you "cannot gueſs who ſhe is, I will name her to you."

Name her then, ſaid I, for I own I have not wit enough to find out who ſhe is. "Ah! how dull "are you," cried the king, "but I am perſuaded, "you could gueſs who I mean if you would, and "only affect this ignorance to oblige me to name her "myſelf; confeſs then that theſe three qualities "meet in my miſtreſs: not," purſued the king (in ſome confuſion at this diſcovery of his weakneſs) "that I have any intention to marry her, but I "want to know what you would ſay, if, not being "able to meet with any other whom I could ap-"prove of, I ſhould one day take it into my head "to make her my wife." 1598.

It was not difficult for me to diſcover, amidſt theſe ſlight artifices, that his majeſty had already thought of it but too much, and was but too well diſpoſed to this unworthy marriage, which every thing he had ſaid tended to juſtify. My aſtoniſhment was indeed very great, but I thought it neceſſary to conceal my thoughts with the utmoſt care: I affected to believe that he was jeſting, that I might have an opportunity of anſwering in ſuch a manner as might make the king aſhamed of having entertained ſo extravagant a notion. My diſſimulation did not ſucceed; the king had not made ſo painful an effort to ſtop there. "I command you," ſaid he to me, "to ſpeak freely; you have acquired the "right of telling me plain truths; do not appre-"hend that I ſhall be offended with you for doing "ſo, provided that it is in private; ſuch a liberty "indeed in public would greatly offend me."

I replied, that I would never be ſo imprudent as to ſay any thing in private, any more than in public, that might diſpleaſe him, except on ſuch occaſions when his life, or the good of the ſtate was in queſtion. I afterwards repreſented to him the diſgrace ſo ſcandalous an alliance would draw upon him, in the opinion of the whole world, and the reproaches he would ſuffer from his own mind upon that account, when the ardour of his paſſion being abated,

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1598. he ſhould be able to judge impartially of his own conduct. I ſhewed him that if this was the only means to which he could have recourſe to free France from the calamities a doubtful ſucceſſion would occaſion, that he would expoſe himſelf to all the inconveniencies he was anxious to avoid, and others ſtill greater: that although he ſhould legitimate the children he had by madam de Liancourt, yet that could not hinder the eldeſt, who was born in a double adultery, from being, in this reſpect, inferior to the ſecond, whoſe birth was attended with but half that diſgrace; and both muſt yield to thoſe whom he might have by madam de Liancourt after ſhe was his lawful wife: this bye circumſtance making it impoſſible to ſettle their claims, could not fail of becoming an inexhauſtible ſource of quarrels and war. "I leave you, ſire," purſued I, "to make reflections upon all this, before I ſay "any more." "That will not be amiſs," returned the king, who was ſtruck with my arguments; "for you have ſaid enough of this matter for the "firſt time." But ſuch was the tyranny of that blind paſſion, to which he was ſubjected, that in ſpite of himſelf he reſumed the diſcourſe that very moment, by aſking me if, from the diſpoſition I knew the French to be of, eſpecially the nobility, I thought he had any reaſon to apprehend they would riſe in rebellion, while he was living, if he ſhould marry his miſtreſs.

This queſtion convinced me, that his heart had received an incurable wound: I treated him accordingly, and entered into arguments and expoſtulations, with which I ſhall not trouble the reader, ſince his own imagination may ſuggeſt to him all that it was neceſſary to ſay upon this ſubject, which has been already dwelt upon too long. We continued three hours alone in the garden, and I had the conſolation to leave the king in a full perſuaſion of the truth and reaſonableneſs of all I had ſaid to him.

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The difficulty lay in breaking thoſe too powerful ties; the king had not yet brought himſelf to that point: he had many dreadful * conflicts of mind to ſuffer ere that could be effected; and all he could do for the preſent, was to defer taking his laſt reſolution till he had obtained the permiſſion he had been ſo long ſoliciting from the pope, and till then to keep his ſentiments ſecret. He promiſed me not to acquaint his miſtreſs with what I had ſaid, leſt it ſhould draw her reſentment upon me. "She loves "you," ſaid the king to me, "and eſteems you "ſtill more; but her mind ſtill entertains ſome re- "mains of diſtruſt, that you will not approve of "my deſign in favour of her and her children: "ſhe often tells me, that when one hears you per- 1598.

* In this inward ſtruggle, the voice of reaſon and decorum had not the ſtrongeſt ſway with Henry IV. and even though M. de Sully does here and elſewhere ſay it, the world has always been perſuaded, upon very good grounds, that, if the death of his miſtreſs, whom he ſo tenderly loved, had not prevented this prince, he would either have married her, or he would not have married again at all. He was not always directed on this head by the ſole advice of the duke de Sully, at leaſt if we believe a very curious anecdote, which may be ſeen in vol. 9590 des MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi; where it is obſerved, that Henry IV. being at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (this was probably but ſome months at moſt after his return from Brittany) ſent for his three miniſters (M. de Roſny, de Villeroi, and de Sillery) to conſult with them about this ſo important a queſtion, relating to his marriage; and that the firſt (who to be ſure was M. de Roſny) was of the ſame opinion as is mentioned in this place of his Memoirs: that the ſecond adviſed him on the contrary not to marry, but leave the ſucceſſion to the prince de Condé, who by birth-right was his true heir; and that at laſt the third (this was M. de Sillery, the moſt artful courtier of the three) in oppoſition to both the former advices, told him, that the beſt thing he could do was to marry his miſtreſs, and legitimate the eldeſt of the children he had by her. Henry IV. continues the author of this anecdote, who plainly ſhews himſelf to be a perſon to whom one of the three miniſters themſelves had communicated what paſſed between the king and them) I ſay Henry IV. ſeemed ſurprized at this, and afterwards ſaid, "I had promiſed my- "ſelf a great deal from your abi- "lities and fidelity, by the advice "I wanted of you with regard to "my marriage; yet ſtill I fear, "that inſtead of having ſatisfied "me, you have only increaſed my "irreſolution by the contrariety "of your opinions, which are "backed with ſuch ſtrong rea- "ſons, that I find myſelf not a "little embarraſſed as to the judg- "ment which I ſhould make as "to the beſt of them; as to that "therefore I require a little time "to conſider of it," &c. and after he had ſaid this, he got up and diſmiſſed them.

"petually

1598. "petually talking of my kingdom and my glory, "one is apt to think that you prefer the one to my "perſon, and the other to my quiet." I anſwered, that againſt this charge I could make no defence; that the kingdom and the ſovereign were to be looked upon with the ſame eyes: "Remember, ſire, "added I, that your virtue is the ſoul which ani- "mates this great body, which muſt, by its ſplen- "dor and proſperity, repay you that glory and "happineſs that it derives from you, and that you "are not to ſeek happineſs by any other means." After this we left the garden, and it being night ſeparated, leaving the courtiers to rack their imaginations in vain to gueſs the ſubject of ſo long a conference.

Neither the king nor I had attended to a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary on ſuch occaſions, which was Margaret's conſent to the diſſolution of her marriage; I conceived it to be highly proper to enter upon this negotiation while we expected the ſucceſs of that which was carrying on at Rome. I was willing firſt to ſound the intentions of this princeſs; therefore the ſubſtance of the letter I wrote to her on this ſubject was, that, moſt ardently deſiring a reconciliation between her and the king, upon which France founded her hopes of having a lawful heir to the crown, I thought it my duty to intreat ſhe would authoriſe me to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to effect this reconciliation; but that, if the inclinations of both parties were ſuch as to render this attempt fruitleſs, or that it ſhould not conduce to the purpoſe I mentioned to her (a point I was ſenſible the ſterility of this princeſs would make her ſecretly agree to) I hoped ſhe would not be offended if I ſhould afterwards take the liberty to perſuade her to make a ſtill greater ſacrifice, which the ſtate expected from her. I did not explain myſelf any farther, but after what I had mentioned juſt before, upon the neceſſity of giving legitimate children to the

the crown of France, it was not difficult to guess what I meant by this sacrifice. 1598.

The queen took time to deliberate upon a matter of such importance, before she sent me an answer; which I did not receive till five months after I had written to her: it was dated from Usson *, where she usually resided, and was such a one as we would have wished for, prudent, modest, and submissive. Margaret, without explaining herself any more than I had done, upon a separation that was not yet publicly talked of, was contented with substituting, instead of it, an assurance that she would readily submit to the king's will; adding the most candid praises of his conduct, and thanks to me for my solicitude and cares.

The king staid at Rennes but seven or eight days, resolving to set out as soon as possible for Paris, that he might reach Picardy the beginning of May: he took his rout through Vitré †, from whence I received orders from him to give a gratuity to the garrison of Rochefort, and afterwards to cause the castle to be razed. From Vitré his majesty coasted along the Loire, and came to Tours, by the way of La Fleche, which he took pleasure in seeing again, it being the place where he had passed part of his time in his youth.

I staid behind him at Rennes five or six days, to put the affairs of the finances in order, pay the troops, settle their departure from Brittany, and their march through the midst of the provinces; after which I came to Tours to the king; his majesty having sent for me upon an affair of great importance. I left him to continue his journey to Pa-

* This princess had at first retired, many years before, to Agen, and afterwards to Carlat. King Henry III. her brother, had not treated her better than Henry IV. her husband, but persecuted her every where, and at last shut her up in the castle of Usson in Auvergne, where, after his death, she was contented to live.

† I have substituted this word in the place of that of Villeroi, as the original bears: there never was a place of that name in Brittany; and, in fact, Henry IV's road lay through Vitre.

1598. ris, whither (notwithſtanding all the haſte he was able to make) he did not arrive till the latter end of May. I was ſo weary * of the formality of our reception into the great cities, and particularly of the long ſpeeches that we were tormented with in every place, that taking a bye-road by le Maine and le Perche, I came alone to my eſtate at Roſny, where my wife was employed in attending the building of a houſe, and had narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed to pieces under the ruins of the old edifice, which was firſt to be demoliſhed. I ſtaid there but a ſhort time, yet upon my arrival at Paris, I found the king was gone from thence; he had only paſſed through it, and taken the road to Amiens immediately: this city he thought convenient for correſponding with the plenipotentiaries of Vervins, and likewiſe for viſiting all the fortreſſes upon the frontiers, to facilitate the evacuation of thoſe that were to be reſtored to him by the treaty, and to provide for their ſecurity for the future. All this was but the work of eight days, and his majeſty was no ſooner come to Paris than the treaty was ſigned †.

* The king was no leſs ſo. L'Etoile relates ſome very ſmart repartees of his majeſty to theſe importunate haranguers; one of them tired him with long titles and compellations of honour, and repeating often, "O very benign, "O very great, O very merciful, "&c. king." "Add too, ſays "Henry to him, and very wea- "ry." Another having begun his ſpeech with theſe words, "Age- "ſilaus, king of Lacedemon, "ſire," &c. The king, interrupting him, ſays, "*Ventre, ſaint* "*gris!* I have heard a good deal "ſpoken of this Ageſilaus, but "he had dined firſt; but, for my "part, I have not yet." Having twice told another, that he ſhould cut ſhort his harangue; and ſeeing that he went on tediouſly nevertheleſs, he left him, and ſo went away, telling him, "You muſt "ſay the reſt then to maſter Wil- "liam," meaning the fool that belonged to the court.

† On the 2d of May, 1598, the peace was ſigned, in the name of the king, "by M. Pomponne "de Bellievre, knight, lord of "Grignon, and counſellor of ſtate "to the king, and Mr. Nicholas "Brulart, kt. lord of Sillery, "counſellor of ſtate to the king, "and preſident in his court of par- "liament at Paris. In the name "of the cardinal of Auſtria, hav- "ing full powers from the king of "Spain, by M. John Richardot, "knight, chief and preſident of "the privy council of his ſaid "majeſty, and one of his council "of ſtate: M. John Baptiſte de "Taxis, knight, &c. and M. Louis "Verreiken, knight," &c. See this

The

The treaty was very clear and plain: the reſig- 1598.
nation of all the towns and fortreſſes that Spain poſſeſſed in France was almoſt the only conſiderable article in it. No difficulty aroſe concerning the affair of the marquiſate of Saluces; the king did not think fit to break off the peace on account of this article, which was looked upon to be of ſo little importance, that if Savoy ſhould refuſe to do juſtice in it, the king, it was ſaid, might, with very little trouble, ſeize the whole territory without any obſtruction from Spain. Both parties, however, obliged themſelves to ſtand to the pope's * deciſion of the affair. Here the plenipotentiaries committed an error, which was the cauſe of engaging his majeſty ſoon after in a war that might have been avoided. I ſhall take no notice of the reſt of thoſe formalities in uſe amongſt them †, and leave it to others to extol thoſe refined ſtratagems that in politics are thought the maſterpiece of human wit.

whole treaty in the *Memoires & negotiations de la paix traitées à Vervins*, tom. II. with an account, in form of a journal, of all that paſſed between the plenipotentiaries, from the opening of that negotiation till the concluſion of the peace.

* What regards the duke of Savoy, who was repreſented by M. Gaſpard de Geneve, marquis de Lullin, and counſellor of ſtate, &c. is at the end of the 24th article, and imports, "that the remainder of the other differences "that are between the ſaid moſt "chriſtian king and the ſaid duke, "ſhall be referred to the judgment "of our holy father Clement VIII. "to be determined by his holineſs "within one year.... And matters ſhall continue in the ſtate "in which they are at preſent," &c.

† There were found the ſame difficulties as to the ſubſtance, and the ſame obſtacles as to the formalities that are uſually to be met with in ſuch ſort of deliberations. They may be ſeen in the *Lettres de M. de Bellievre & de Sillery*, and in the *Relation*, &c. ibid. Theſe two negotiators have been generally commended for the firm and wiſe conduct which they ſhewed therein. In their letters, and among others, in thoſe dated the 7th of April, and 4th of March, they give a particular detail of the motives that induced them to conclude with the agents for the duke of Savoy in the manner which M. de Sully complains of: and all this they did by the particular orders of his majeſty, in his letter of April 9, &c.

1598. The king ſigned the treaty at Paris, in the preſence of the duke * d'Arſcot and the admiral of Arragon; the arch-duke did the ſame at Bruſſels, in the name of the king of Spain and his own, before marechal Biron, on whom the king, to qualify him for this ceremony, had juſt beſtowed the rank of duke and peer of France, a dignity that completely turned his head. Meſſieurs De Bellièvre and De Sillery were likewiſe preſent. The duke of Savoy gave his ſolemn aſſent to the peace at Chamberry, in the preſence of Gadagne Bothéon †, governor of Lyons, who was deputed to him by the king for that purpoſe.

Thus, notwithſtanding a league ſo powerful as that of the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and all the eccleſiaſtics of chriſtianity, did the king of France accompliſh his deſigns ‡, and crown them with a glorious peace: all thoſe who had been employed in effecting it he rewarded with a royal munificence; and to prevent this meaſure from alienating Holland from his inte-

* Charles de Croy, duke d'Arſcot and prince de Chimay; Don Franciſco de Mendoſa and Cardona, admiral of Arragon. Henry IV. took an oath for the obſerving of the treaty of peace on Sunday the 21ſt of June, the cardinal De Florence, the pope's legate, officiating in the moſt ſolemn manner. The account is alſo to be met with, ibid. tom. II. p. 266. of the MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, vol. 9361. Mem. de la ligue, tom. VI. Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. Cayet, and others.

† He is ſtyled, in the oath taken by the duke of Savoy on the 2d of Auguſt, "the illuſtrious lord, "William de Guadaign, lord of "Botheon, knight of the orders "of the moſt high and moſt ex-"cellent prince Henry IV. the "moſt chriſtian king of France "and Navarre, counſellor in his "council of ſtate, captain of fifty "gen-d'armes, and his lieute-"nant-general in the government "of the Lyonnois, Forêt, and "Beaujolois, ambaſſador, intruſt-"ed and deputed," &c. Mem. & Negociations, &c. tom. II. p. 365.

‡ The letters which this prince wrote to his two miniſters at Vervins, during all the time that this negotiation laſted, confirm this. They are inſerted in the Mem. & Negotiations, &c. ibid. He ſays, "that with one ſtroke of his pen "he had performed more exploits "than he could have done during "a long war with the beſt ſwords "of his kingdom." It was alſo ſaid, upon this treaty, that the Spaniards had got the better by arms, but the French by negotiation.

reſts, he ſent Buzenval to Amſterdam, to keep up a good intelligence with the States, and to pay the penſion his majeſty allowed them. It is not poſſible to reflect on the great abilities of this prince, and his ſurpriſing diligence in ſhewing himſelf in every part of his kingdom where his preſence was the leaſt neceſſary, without giving him thoſe praiſes he ſo well deſerves. 1598.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK X.

1598. PEACE brought with it other labours and other cares. The king began by reducing the number of his troops, both French and foreigners: the Swiſs, except three companies of an hundred men each, commanded by the colonels Galati, Heid, and Baltazar, were diſbanded. This reduction was not ſo complete as I could have wiſhed, and the neceſſity of the times ſeemed to require; but my advice on this head was not approved by his majeſty: however, if it had been conſidered that the royal treaſure was almoſt exhauſted, and yet there was an abſolute neceſſity of furniſhing money for many occaſions ſo urgent, that new ſums were obliged to be borrowed for that purpoſe, I am of opinion that I could not have been reproached with a ſordid and miſplaced œconomy.

Theſe ſums were to be applied to the fortifying a great number of towns, and the repairing of many buildings, that by the late diſorders of the times were threatened with approaching ruin, which it was neceſſary to prevent without delay. Upon viſiting the chief rivers of the kingdom, to ſettle the different claims (a buſineſs which was truſted to four per-

perſons of known probity) it was likewiſe found ne- 1598.
ceſſary to raiſe ſeveral works, particularly upon the Charente.

Amongſt other political regulations which were thought neceſſary to be made, the king ſet bounds to that prodigious quantity of grain, which it was uſual to ſend out of the kingdom, and which often expoſed France to ſuffer the greateſt inconveniencies from a ſcarcity of her own produce *: by another regulation, all that had no right to wear ſwords † were forbid, upon pain of the ſevereſt puniſhments, to appear in them.

* The moſt juſt conſequence which it would ſeem can be drawn from all the reaſonings we read and hear daily upon this point, namely of exporting corn out of the kingdom, is that which the duke de Sully infers here. It would be unreaſonable to deprive this kingdom of one of the moſt happy reſources and one of the richeſt ſupports of its commerce, by forbidding all exportation of this ſort of commodity: and it would be no leſs imprudent to allow it without meaſure or proportion.

If to find this proper medium, the public and royal magazines do not appear to be an anſwerable and ſufficient expedient, by reaſon of the great expences and ſtill greater inconveniencies thet attend them; it would ſeem that the ſame objection cannot be made againſt commiſſaries that might be eſtabliſhed to take care that the granaries of private perſons might be filled, opened and ſhut, whenever the public exigencies required it. This part of political œconomy, whoſe great and almoſt ſole view ſhould be to know and to keep up the proportion betwixt the productions of the earth and their conſumption, by fairly balancing the different years and different provinces, is not, I believe, ſo difficult as at firſt it appears.

† As to the regulation of carrying arms, ſeveral perſons are of opinion that it would be proper to add ſome diſtinguiſhing marks in the form of the cloaths, that might ſerve to make known in public the different ranks of people.

As to arts and ſciences, and the belles lettres: if it be true, as it appears, that it cannot be doubted, that it is to the care that has been taken for ſome years paſt to cultivate them in Europe, we owe the difference that may at this day be obſerved among Europeans, with regard to the ſoftneſs of their manners, the politeneſs of their behaviour, their connexion with each other, and the means which a more pacific ſpirit has found out to diſcuſs and terminate, in a leſs cruel manner, their reſpective differences: it appears that, by all kinds of public motives, independently of that of the glory and particular intereſt that reſults from it, a great ſtate ought not to loſe ſight of this object. After all the care which has been already taken in this kingdom, in order to form and eſtabliſh a library, muſeums, and collections of all kinds, that might be worthy of the powerful monarch that rules it, to inſtitute academies where perſons apply themſelves to improve the arts and ſciences; the world expects with impatience to ſee the deſign executed that was

1598. Amidſt theſe occupations, polite literature was not excluded from a ſhare of the king's attention. He heard Caſaubon mentioned, and upon the reputation of this learned man, he invited him to come and ſettle in Paris with his family, where he fixed him by a penſion that afforded him the means of living as became a man of his character, who is not called, ſaid Henry, to govern a ſtate.

I am under a neceſſity of ſuppreſſing a detail of leſs important incidents, the number of which would be infinite, were I to recount in theſe Memoirs all that his majeſty ſaid or wrote to me from Fontainebleau, Monceaux, and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he paſſed the remainder of this year, and where, from time to time, he commanded my attendance to confer with me upon different occaſions. I ſhall exactly fulfil my former promiſe, in ſuppreſſing all that are not in themſelves of ſome conſideration; and ſhall only obſerve here, that perhaps no miniſter of ſtate ever found in his prince more attention, or more readineſs of expedience, with reſpect to all that could promote either the advantage or the mere convenience of a kingdom, than I found in the prince whom I ſerved. Neither peace, nor domeſtic affairs, made him neglect to obſerve what was doing in the neighbouring courts: the queſtion about the true or falſe Don Sebaſtian * made then a

formed ſome time ago, namely to accommodate all theſe different parts a little more to one another, in ſuch a large town as Paris, by bringing them all within the ſame walls, where one might conveniently find all, at once, as books, inſtruments, printing-houſes, and in general, all the neceſſary implements, together with proper accommodations for lodging the perſons appointed and ſet over to inſpect and take care of them; and eſpecially, to ſee eſtabliſhed a tribunal of arts and ſciences, conſiſting of proper perſons in the different academies, and paid by his majeſty, to make exact trials, and form a preciſe judgment concerning books, diſcoveries, and productions that might be uſeful to the public. At firſt there was an intention to make the ſquare or place Vendôme ſerve for this purpoſe; after this the Old Louvre was pitched upon: but exigencies of ſtate that are ſtill more neceſſary to be attended to, have ever ſince made the execution of this project be deferred.

* This queſtion ſeems at preſent to be pretty well decided, by the authority of far the greateſt part of the beſt hiſtorians, who make no doubt but that king Sebaſtian loſt his life in the battle he fought with the Moors at Alcaçar, in 1578; and

great

great noiſe in Europe as well as in Spain. He ſent La Tremouille * into Portugal, to endeavour if poſſible to unravel the myſtery, that he might not, but upon full conviction, determine upon the juſtice or iniquity of the council of Spain, which had begun their meaſures by cauſing the ſuppoſed king of Portugal to be arreſted. 1598.

Henry, not having yet explained himſelf concerning thoſe great ſchemes which he afterwards formed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, was deſirous of acting this year as a mediator between Spain and England; he therefore propoſed a conference to be held at Boulogne † between the two crowns, and ſent Caumartin and Jeannin, to aſſiſt at it in his name. It was in vain that I oppoſed a meaſure, which ſeemed to me to be founded in very bad policy; happily, however, this conference produced nothing that had been expected from it. The obſtinate hatred theſe two nations bare to each other, gave riſe immediately to ſo hot a diſpute about precedency, that they ſeparated before they had even begun to ſettle the ſmalleſt preliminary.

The jeſuits were not more fortunate in their endeavours to take advantage of that article in the treaty of Vervins, by which all French exiles as well as foreigners were at liberty to return into France and ſettle there; the arret of council which intervened, deprived them of this reſource, and they were

conſequently that this pretended Don Sebaſtian was but an impoſtor, ſupported both at that time and ſince by the enemies of Spain. See the proofs of this king's death in M. De Thou, book lxv. of which we ſhall ſay more in the ſequel. France could beſides have meddled in this queſtion another way. Catherine de Medicis pretended to have a rightful title to the crown of Portugal, alledging that ſhe was deſcended of Robert, ſon to Alphonſos III. by Maude his firſt wife, who died in 1262. Since which time ſhe maintained, that all the kings of Portugal were no other than uſurpers: but as theſe were points very difficult to be decided, it appears, that ſhe made but little progreſs in making good her pretenſions.

* Claude de La Tremouille, duke de Thouars, who died in 1606.

† This conference or congreſs, into which were admitted the ſtates of the United Provinces, was not held till the year 1599, in the months of May and June.

obliged

1598. obliged to make uſe of other means that ſucceeded better.

The aſſembly of the clergy which was held this year, and continued part of the following, ſhared likewiſe his majeſty's attention, as well as the promotion of cardinals. The ſon of madam Sourdis* was one of thoſe Frenchmen for whom the king procured a hat, although he was too young to be thought worthy of that diſtinction. Madam de Sourdis owed this favour to the ducheſs of Beaufort's intereſt, whom ſhe prevailed upon to ſupport her requeſt.

This was the title the king's miſtreſs now bore, for which ſhe quitted that of marchioneſs of Monceaux, when the birth of a ſecond ſon drew from his majeſty an increaſe of tenderneſs and honours. This lady had for a long time ſet no bounds to her ambition; ſhe aſpired to nothing leſs than being declared queen of France; and Henry's paſſion for her, which increaſed every day, gave her hopes of accompliſhing her deſigns. When ſhe was informed that the king's agents at Rome were commiſſioned to ſolicit the diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret, and that his majeſty was on the point of ſending the duke of Luxembourg †, to that court with the title of ambaſſador, to haſten the concluſion of it, ſhe looked upon this as a favourable opportunity; but ſuſpecting the agents and probably the new ambaſſador, ſhe caſt her eyes upon Sillery, who was already deep in her intereſt, and whom this laſt inſtance of confidence would not fail of binding ſtill cloſer to her ſervice: ſhe ſent for him, and explaining her views to him, ſet no bounds to the reward which ſhe pretended to give for his ſervice and devotion. As ſhe knew what was moſt likely to tempt Sillery, ſhe aſſured him of the ſeals at his return from Rome, though at the hazard even of diſobliging Madame

* Francis d'Eſcoublau, cardinal de Sourdis, and archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, who died in 1628.

† Henry de Luxembourg, duke de Piney, who was the laſt of that branch of Luxembourg.

de

de Sourdis her aunt and intimate friend, and promiſed him likewiſe the poſt of chancellor, as ſoon as it ſhould be vacant. At this price Sillery engaged, with all the oaths ſhe demanded from him, to neglect nothing that might prevail upon the pope to legitimate the two children ſhe had by Henry, and to diſſolve his marriage with Margaret. This firſt ſtep taken, few obſtacles remained to hinder her advancement to the throne. She eaſily found reaſons to make the king approve of the ambaſſador ſhe had choſen; the duke of Luxembourg was only ſuffered to ſet out, to be recalled as ſoon as Sillery ſhould be in a condition to take his place. The dutcheſs was at no pains to conceal from the court the title with which ſhe had juſt graced her favourite; ſhe aſſiſted herſelf in preparing his equipages, and prevailed upon the king to give the neceſſary orders for Sillery's appearance with all the pomp and magnificence, by which the ſucceſs of his negotiation might be ſecured. 1598.

The ducheſs of Beaufort at the ſame time, to prepare the French for that change which ſhe meditated for her children, obtained of the king, who had no leſs tenderneſs for them than for the mother, that the ceremony of the baptiſm of the ſecond ſon ſhe had lately born him, ſhould be performed at Saint-Germain, where his majeſty then was, with the ſame magnificence and honours which in this ceremony are only uſed to the children of France. Though I could pardon in this lady an intoxication in which ſhe was kept by the ſervile reſpect the courtiers paid to her children, and the adorations they offered to herſelf, I could not have the ſame indulgence for Henry, wo was ſo far from taking any meaſures to undeceive her, that he gave orders for the baptiſm of this child, with a readineſs that ſhewed how agreeable the requeſt was to him. I declared my ſentiments of this proceeding with great freedom; I endeavoured publicly to oppoſe the inference which I perceived the courtiers would draw, in favour of children

1598. children ſo dear to the king, for the ſucceſſion to the crown. The king himſelf, after the ceremony, became ſenſible that he had permitted too much, and told me that they had exceeded his orders; which I had no difficulty to believe. The child was named Alexander *, as the eldeſt had been Cæſar; and the court flatterers, by a kind of ſecond baptiſm, gave him the title of *Monſieur*, which in France no one is allowed to bear but the king's only brother, or the preſumptive heir to the crown.

The miſtreſs did not ſtop here; ſhe began to aſſume all the airs of a queen, not indeed wholly through her own preſumption, for I think ſhe knew herſelf too well to have indulged ſuch extravagant ideas, but was driven on to take that ſtep by the continual ſolicitations of her creatures and relations: madam de Sourdis, Chiverny, and Freſne, ſeconded her ſo well on their parts, that it became inſenſibly the public talk of the court, that the king was going to marry his miſtreſs; and that it was for this purpoſe he was ſoliciting his divorce at Rome. I was ſhocked at a report ſo injurious to the glory of this prince: I went to him, and made him ſenſible of the conſequence of it. He appeared to me concerned, and even piqued at it; yet his firſt care was to juſtify madam De Beaufort, who, he poſitively aſſured me, had not contributed to the report; for which all the proof he had was that ſhe had told him ſo: he threw the whole blame upon madam de Sourdis and Freſne, to whom he ſhewed that he was capable of pardoning a conduct ſo little reſpectful to him, ſince; although he was aſſured they were guilty, he gave them not the ſlighteſt reprimand.

One circumſtance added great weight to the ſteps I took on this occaſion both in public and private. Queen Margaret, with whom the affair of the approaching diſſolution of her marriage obliged me to

* They gave him the title of chevalier de Vendôme. Lady Catherine, ſiſter to the king, and the count de Soiſſons, were the ſponſors at his chriſtening. He died grand prior of France, in 1629.

keep

keep a correſpondence by letters, was the laſt who heard of what was ſaid and done at court, with regard to madam De Beaufort's pretenſions: As ſoon as ſhe was informed of them ſhe wrote to me, and gave me to underſtand, that ſhe had not changed her mind with regard to a ſeparation from the king, but that ſhe was ſo much offended at their intending to give the place ſhe reſigned to a woman ſo infamous as the ducheſs was by her commerce with the king, that, although ſhe had at firſt given her conſent without annexing any conditions to it, ſhe was now determined to inſiſt upon the excluſion of this woman; and no treatment whatever ſhould oblige her to alter her reſolution. I ſhewed this letter to the king, who judging by it how much his marriage with his miſtreſs would irritate the beſt of his ſubjects againſt him, began, in reality, to change his ſentiments and conduct. 1598.

I was of opinion, that if madam De Beaufort was acquainted with the contents of this letter, it might probably produce the ſame effects upon her. I would not take this trouble upon myſelf, being unwilling to meet the inſolence and rage of a woman, who looked upon me as a ſtumbling-block in the way of her advancement, but I communicated the letter to Chiverny and Freſne, who immediately informed madam De Sourdis of it, and ſhe almoſt in the ſame moment the ducheſs of Beaufort. But this lady's counſellors were not ſo eaſily alarmed; they were very ſenſible that the deſign they had undertaken to engage the king in, could not fail of meeting with many difficulties, and they had ſettled their behaviour upon each; the reſult of their deliberations had been, to haſten, as much as poſſible, the concluſion of the affair; perſuading themſelves that when it was once over they might give it a colour that ſhould make it excuſable; or, at worſt, matters would be compoſed after a little murmuring, as always happens when things are without remedy. They knew well the diſpoſition of the French nation, eſpecially

1598. eſpecially the courtiers, whoſe firſt law it is to be always of the ſame mind with the ſovereign, and whoſe ſtrongeſt paſſion the deſire of pleaſing him. In a word, they thought themſelves ſecure of every thing, provided the king himſelf did not fail them. Freſne having drawn up the warrant for the payment of the heralds, trumpeters, and other under-officers of the crown, who had attended at the ceremony of the baptiſm, it was brought to me, as well as the reſt, that I might give my order for its diſcharge. As ſoon as I caſt my eye upon this writing, a tender concern for the king's honour made me look upon it as a laſting teſtimony of his weakneſs, which was going to be handed down to poſterity. I heſitated not a moment to return it, and cauſed another to be drawn up in terms more proper. The titles of Monſieur, Son of France, and all that could give any notion of that kind, were ſuppreſſed, and conſequently the houſhold fees reduced to the ordinary price, with which they were highly diſſatisfied. They did not fail to renew their efforts: and in their diſcontent quoted Monſieur de Freſné, and the law by which their claims were regulated: At firſt I reſtrained myſelf before theſe people, whoſe bad intentions I well knew; but growing impatient at laſt, I could not help ſaying to them, with ſome indignation, "Go, go, I will do nothing in it; "know that there are no children of France."

No ſooner had theſe words eſcaped me, than, ſuſpecting that a troubleſome affair would be made of it, to prevent it, I went immediately to his majeſty, who was walking with the duke D'Epernon in the palace of St. Germain: I ſhewed him the warrant Freſne had drawn up, telling him, that if it was allowed, there needed no more but to declare himſelf married to the ducheſs of Beaufort. "This is "Freſne's malice," ſaid the king, after he had read it: "but I ſhall take care to prevent it." Then, commanding me to tear the paper, he turned to three or four lords of the court who were neareſt him,

him, "How malignant are theſe people" ſaid he aloud, "and what difficulties do they throw in the "way of thoſe who ſerve me with fidelity: they "brought a warrant to monſieur De Roſny, with a "deſign to make him offend me if he paſſed it, or "my miſtreſs if he refuſed it." In the ſtate affairs then were, theſe words were far from being indifferent; they gave the courtiers, who had ſmiled at my ſimplicity, to underſtand that they might poſſibly be deceived themſelves, and that the ſuppoſed marriage was not ſo near as they had imagined. The king continuing to converſe with me apart, told me, that he did not doubt but that madam De Beaufort was greatly enraged againſt me, and adviſed me to go to her, and endeavour, by ſolid reaſons, to give her ſatisfaction: "If they will not do," added he, "I "will ſpeak to her as her maſter." 1598.

I went directly to the ducheſs's apartment, which was in the cloiſter of Saint-Germain. I knew not what notion ſhe conceived of a viſit which ſhe found I began with a ſort of explanation: ſhe did not allow me time to go on: the rage with which ſhe was animated not permitting her to obſerve any meaſures, ſhe interrupted me with a reproach that I had impoſed upon the king, and made him believe that black was white. "'Tis well, madam!" ſaid I, interrupting her in my turn, but with great calmneſs, "ſince you think fit to talk in this manner, I ſhall "take my leave, but I ſhall not, however, neglect "to do my duty." Saying this, I left her, not being willing to hear more, leſt I ſhould be tempted to ſay ſomething more ſevere. I put the king in a very ill humour with his miſtreſs, when I repeated to him what ſhe had ſaid. "Come along with me," ſaid the king, with an emotion that pleaſed me greatly, "and I will let you ſee that women do not "wholly poſſeſs me." His coach not being ready ſoon enough for his impatience, his majeſty got into mine: and as we drove to the ducheſs's lodgings, he aſſured me that he would never have cauſe to reproach

1598. proach himſelf, that, through his complaiſance for a woman, he had baniſhed or even diſguſted ſervants, who, like me, were only ſolicitous for his glory and intereſt.

Madam de Beaufort, upon my leaving her apartment ſo haſtily, had expected to ſee the king ſoon after: and during that time had taken ſufficient pains to ſet off her perſon to the greateſt advantage; believing, like me, that the victory which one or other of us muſt now gain, would be the preſage of her good or bad fortune. As ſoon as ſhe was informed of the king's arrival, ſhe came as far as the door of the firſt hall to receive him. Henry, without ſaluting her, or expreſſing any part of his uſual tenderneſs, "Let us go, madam, ſaid he, to your "chamber, and ſuffer no one to enter but yourſelf, "Roſny, and I; for I want to talk to you both, "and make you live together upon friendly terms." Then ordering the door to be ſhut, and that no one ſhould be ſuffered to remain in the chamber, wardrobe, or cloſet, he took her hand, holding one of mine at the ſame time, and with an air which ſhe had good reaſon to be ſurpriſed at, told her, that the true motive which had determined him to attach himſelf to her, was the gentleneſs he had obſerved in her diſpoſition; but that her conduct for ſome time paſt had convinced him, that what he had believed to be real was only diſſembled, and that ſhe had deceived him: he reproached her with the bad counſels ſhe had liſtened to, and the very conſiderable faults they had occaſioned. He covered me with praiſes, to ſhew the ducheſs, by the difference of our proceedings, that I only was truly attached to his perſon: he commanded her to get ſo far the better of her averſion for me, as to be able to regulate her conduct by my advice, ſince, ſhe might depend upon it, his paſſion for her ſhould never induce him to deprive me of his confidence.

Madam de Beaufort began her anſwer by ſighs and tears; ſhe aſſumed a tender and ſubmiſſive air; ſhe

ſhe would have kiſſed the hand of Henry; omitting no artifice which ſhe thought capable of melting his heart. It was not till ſhe had played over all theſe little arts, that ſhe began to ſpeak, which ſhe did by complaining, that inſtead of thoſe returns ſhe might have expected from a prince to whom ſhe had given her heart, ſhe ſaw herſelf ſacrificed to one of his grooms: ſhe repeated all that I had ſaid or done to the prejudice of her children, in order to awake his majeſty's reſentment againſt me: then, feigning to ſink under the violence of her grief and deſpair, ſhe let herſelf fall upon a couch, where ſhe proteſted ſhe was determined to wait for death, not being able to endure life after ſo cruel an affront. The attack was a little ſtrong; Henry did not expect it: I obſerved him heedfully, and ſaw his countenance change; but recovering himſelf immediately, that his miſtreſs might not perceive it, he continued to tell her in the ſame tone, that ſhe might ſpare herſelf the trouble of having recourſe to ſo many artifices on ſo ſlight an occaſion. Senſibly affected at this reproach, ſhe redoubled her tears, crying, that ſhe plainly perceived ſhe was abandoned, and that doubtleſs it was to augment her ſhame and my triumph, that the king had reſolved to make me a witneſs of the moſt cruel treatment that was ever ſhewn to any woman. This thought ſeemed to plunge her into a real deſpair. "By heaven madam," ſaid the king, loſing patience, "this is too much; I know to what all "this artifice tends; you want to prevail upon me "to baniſh a ſervant whoſe aſſiſtance I cannot be "without: I declare to you, if I was reduced to "the neceſſity of chuſing to loſe one or the other, "I would rather part with ten miſtreſſes like you, "than one ſervant ſuch as him." He did not forget the term of groom which ſhe had made uſe of; and was ſtill more offended, that ſhe had applied it to a man whoſe family had the honour of being allied to his own. 1598.

1598. After this harſh ſpeech the king ſuddenly quitted the ducheſs, and was going out of her apartment without ſeeming to be moved at the condition he left her in; probably becauſe he knew her well enough to be aſſured that all this violence of grief was affectation and grimace. As for me, I was ſo far deceived by it, as to be greatly concerned for her; and was not drawn out of this error till madam de Beaufort, perceiving the king was going to leave her ſo much offended, that ſhe had reaſon to apprehend he would never return again, changed her behaviour in an inſtant, ran to ſtop him, and threw herſelf at his feet; no longer to impoſe upon his tenderneſs, but to ſooth him to a forgetfulneſs of her fault: ſhe began by apologiſing for her paſt conduct; aſſumed an air of gentleneſs and complacency, and ſwore ſhe never had, nor ever would, have any will but his. Never was there a change of ſcene more ſudden: I now ſaw a woman perfectly agreeable, eaſy, and compliant, who behaved to me as if all that had juſt paſſed had been a dream; and we ſeparated very good friends.

The king being at Monceaux about the end of October, felt ſome ſlight touches of a fever, which ended at laſt in a violent attack *; it was attributed to the diſturbance cauſed by a prodigious quantity of humours, which were diſcharged by a purge; and as the fever ſeemed to have wholly ceaſed, the king thought himſelf cured, and wrote to me to that effect; obſerving however, that his indiſpoſition had left a faintneſs and dejection upon him which was not uſual with him, but that he would endeavour to diſperſe it by walking, if he could get ſtrength

* In the following manner the hiſtorian Matthieu ſpeaks of this diſorder of Henry IV. "While he "was very merry with his miſtreſs "and Bellegarde, and laughing "heartily at ſome ſatirical verſes, "he was ſuddenly ſeized with a "violent fit of vomiting, which "kept him for ſeven hours toge- "ther in very great danger, all "that time having a conſtant de- "ſire to drink, and ſtill throwing "up the water while the glaſs was "at his head." Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 277.

enough.

enough. These symptoms were the forerunner of a distemper, which a few days afterwards seized him with such violence that he was soon in great danger, and I had the affliction to find him in this condition on my arrival at Monceaux, with Chatillon and D'Incarville, whom he sent for in the letter I have just mentioned. I thought for a long time that I was only come to see my dear master expire in my arms, for he would not permit me to leave Monceaux during his illness, and often called me to his bed-side. In one of these moments when the obstinacy and continual recurrence of his distemper baffled all the art of the physicians, and this prince himself thought that his last hour was approaching; 1598.

"My friend, said he to me, you who have often seen "me meet dangers which it was easy for me to have "avoided, know better than any other person how "little I fear death; but I will not deny that I am "grieved to die before I have raised this kingdom "to that splendor I intended for it; or convinced "my people, by discharging them of part of their "taxes, and governing them mildly, that I love "them as my own children."

At length Henry's good constitution prevailed, and his distemper was removed almost instantaneously*; so that the grief into which his danger had plunged us, was followed immediately by the joy of his recovery. He had afterwards a slight relapse, which had no bad consequence: he sent me word of this at Paris, whither I had returned as soon as I saw him out of danger. And in another letter, dated the 6th of November, which Schomberg, at his return from Monceaux, brought me to Paris from his majesty, he informed me that his health was perfectly established, except that he had some small re-

* It was during this malady that Henry IV. was very much troubled with a carneous excrescence; which served as a pretext to the duchess of Beaufort, to let him know, by means of La Riviere, his first physician, whom she gained over to her interest, that he could, after this, have no more children. Amelot de la Houssaye, num. I. sur la lettre 243 du cardinal d'Ossat.

1598. mains of that dejection on his ſpirits of which he had formerly complained, and which he could not get rid of, notwithſtanding he followed exactly the advice of his phyſicians. The ſieurs Mareſcot, Martin, and Roſſet, having, upon the news of his illneſs, haſtened to Monceaux to aſſiſt his phyſicians in ordinary with their advice, he had the attention to cauſe them to be paid for their trouble, writing to me to give each of them one hundred crowns, and fifty to Regnault his ſurgeon.

The king had not yet quitted Monceaux when the cardinal of Florence, who had ſo great a hand in the treaty of Vervins, paſſed through Paris, as he came back from Picardy, to return from thence to Rome, after he had taken leave of his majeſty. The king ſent me to Paris to receive him, commanding me to pay him all imaginable honours. He had need of a perſon near the pope ſo powerful as this cardinal, who afterwards obtained the pontificate himſelf: I therefore omitted nothing that could anſwer his majeſty's intentions; and the legate having an inclination to ſee Saint-Germain-en-laye, I ſent orders to Momier, the keeper of the caſtle, to hang the halls and chambers with the fineſt tapeſtry of the crown. Momier executed my orders with great punctuality, but with ſo little judgment, that for the legate's chamber he choſe a ſuit of hangings wrought by the queen of Navarre; very rich, indeed, but which repreſented nothing but emblems and motto's againſt the pope and the roman court, as ſatirical as they were ingenious. The prelate endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept of a place in the coach that was to carry him to Saint-Germain; which I refuſed, being deſirous of getting there before him, that I might ſee whether every thing was in order; with which I was very well pleaſed. I ſaw the blunder of the keeper, and reformed it immediately. The legate would not have failed to have looked upon ſuch a miſtake as a formed deſign to inſult him, and to have repreſented it as ſuch to

the pope. Reflecting afterwards, that no difference in religion could authorize ſuch ſarcaſms, I cauſed all thoſe motto's to be effaced. 1598.

I had long hoped that a peace would afford me leiſure to examine the finances of the kingdom thoroughly: all that I had hitherto been able to do, was only to alleviate the miſchief; and far from having been able to dig to the root, ſo as to eradicate it at once, the different neceſſities of the ſtate, which always followed each other ſo cloſe during the war, made it be looked on as a great ſtroke of policy to manage the finances without increaſing the confuſion. It is certain that, upon a cloſer examination, they ſeemed tainted with an incurable diſeaſe, which could not even be enquired into without the moſt unſhaken courage and invincible patience: the firſt glance was able to diſcover nothing but an univerſal loſs of credit, the royal treaſury indebted ſeveral hundred millions, no means of raiſing more money, exceſſive poverty, and ruin at hand; but this very ſtate of deſpair made it neceſſary not to delay a ſingle moment the undertaking this great work, while ſeveral opportunities concurring ſhewed at leaſt a poſſibility of ſucceſs. Every thing was in tranquility; the pay of the troops conſiderably leſſened, the greater part of the military expences ſuppreſſed, the king's council weary at length of making uſeleſs endeavours to deprive me of any management of public affairs, almoſt all buſineſs was tranſacted by me; theſe gentlemen diſdained even to come to the aſſemblies, unleſs forced thither by their own intereſt, or that of their relations or friends: in thoſe aſſemblies nothing was propoſed without my approbation, and nothing executed without my conſent; the king had no ſecret he reſerved from me, nor any authority that he did not occaſionally inveſt me with; all theſe conſiderations perſuaded me that, if the calamities cauſed by ſo many long and cruel civil wars were ever to be repaired, now or never was the time to accompliſh it,

1598. I had received from nature a ſtrong conſtitution; a body able to ſupport * long labours, and a mind capable of great application, a natural propenſity to

* The picture which M. de Perefixe gives us of M. de Roſny, altogether agrees with that which we have ſeen drawn here. "He had "eſpecially, ſays he, a genius turned for the management of the "finances, and all the other qualifications requiſite for ſuch a ſtation: in fact, he was a regular "man, exact, and a great œconomiſt, he was punctual to his "word, no ways prodigal, without "any pompous oſtentation, not "inclined to profuſe expence, "game, or women, nor addicted "to any thing that did not exactly "tally with a man bred to ſuch an "employment; beſides, he was "vigilant, laborious, expeditious, "beſtowing almoſt his whole time "on buſineſs and but little on his "pleaſures: withal he had the "happy dexterity of ſeeing thro' "ſuch ſort of matters, and of unraveling the puzzling perplexities, and untying the intricate "knots, under which the farmers "of the finances, when they have "a mind to be knaviſh, endeavour "to conceal their tricks." Part 3. P. Matthieu gives him no leſs high a character. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 278. "The king gave him," ſays Le Grain, "the poſt of ſuperintendant-general of his finances, inveſting him with ſo great an authority as had never been ſeen in "that office before: in which, it "muſt be confeſſed, there wanted "a man at that time, who would "have his eyes hood-winked to "every other conſideration but the "king's advantage, that is, to the "public treaſure, which it was neceſſary to reſtore to its full vigour; and who would be more "rigid than what either the dignity of ſome perſons, or the reſpect "due to others, would have endured at any other time; and indeed "this great authority and power, "which the king gave him, did, "in a little time after, reſtore full "ſtrength to all the main reſources "of the ſtate." See the whole of what this writer ſays, with regard to M. de Sully. liv. vii.

"He put," ſays D'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. v. chap. 3. "the finances "into the hands of the marquis de "Roſny, afterwards duke of Sully, "becauſe he found he had a very "extenſive and laborious genius, "as alſo a natural ſternneſs and ſeverity of temper, which, without regarding the favour of any "body, enabled him to bear the "unpleaſing irkſomeneſs of re-"buffs; and by that means, filled "the king's coffers, to which the "natural diſpoſition of his maſter "did not a little contribute."

In a ſmall piece, tome. III. of the Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, we find the following account. "This "change in the face of affairs, "which the ſaid ſieur de Sully had "introduced into France, that had "been brought to the loweſt ebb "of diſtreſs, rendering it opulent "and flouriſhing by means of his "good management and induſtry, "does ſufficiently teſtify his abilities. The remonſtrances which "he made even to the king's pleaſure, and the oppoſition which "he maintained againſt all the "great men, ſhew his virtue, prudence and courage. Even thoſe "who envy him ſay, that he alone "was of more uſe to the public, "and knew its intereſts better, "than all the reſt of the kingdom "beſides." The manuſcript which we quoted in the preface, coincides with this; and further may be added the ſuffrage of the greateſt part of the hiſtorians and memoirs of that time, which all agree, that M. de Sully has, in a ſtrict juſtice, deſerved the appellation of the moſt laborious, the moſt capable, the

regularity

regularity and œconomy, improved by a particular study of that ſcience during twenty-five years that I was near the king's perſon; and, if I may be allowed to ſay it, a paſſion yet more forcible for honour and virtue: ſuch are the qualities I brought to the conduct of public affairs; with theſe, although one cannot keep clear of committing faults, and thoſe likewiſe very conſiderable, yet (and experience as well as the ſucceſs that attended my labours gives me a right to ſay ſo) one may be aſſured that the revenues of a ſtate are fallen into good hands, when a moderate degree of judgment, much diligence and exactneſs, and ſtill more probity, are qualities remarkable in him that governs them. I dare not aſſume more likeneſs than this to the portrait I am going to draw of a good miniſter of the finances, becauſe that, although I have always propoſed ſuch an one for my imitation, yet I candidly confeſs I am far from pretending to ſet up myſelf for a model. 1598.

It would be the ſhorteſt way to ſay, that a man who is called to the management of public affairs, ought to have no paſſions; but that we may not wholly deſtroy the notion of ſuch a being, by reducing him to an impoſſible and merely ideal exiſtence, it is ſufficient to ſay that he ought to have ſuch a knowledge of them, as to be able to avoid their influence: he ſhould be ſenſible of all the meanneſs of pride, the folly of ambition, the weakneſs of hatred, and the baſeneſs of revenge. As I intend only to make ſuch reflections as immediately relate to him, I ſhall not take any notice here of the great meanneſs of treating people ill, not only by actions but even words, and of never giving orders to inferiors but in the tranſports of rage, or peeviſhneſs of ill-

moſt upright, and eſpecially the moſt ſteady miniſter that ever was. The ſeverity, rigidneſs, and haughty carriage, which are almoſt the only faults with which he has been charged, ariſe from the laſt mentioned quality, that no doubt was carried a little too far. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of it in the ſequel: but I thought myſelf obliged previouſly to add theſe teſtimonies, to the account he gives us of his character and conduct.

1598. humour, ſeaſoning them with oaths and curſes, ſince, living for the public, he ought to appear affable, and be eaſy of acceſs to every body, except to thoſe who only come to him with a deſign to corrupt him, and never to loſe ſight of this maxim, which holds one of the firſt places in the affairs of government, That a kingdom ought to be regulated by general rules, and that exceptions only occaſion diſcontent, and produce complaints.

A juſt knowledge of what is due to rank, and of different degrees of diſtinction, is ſo far from being contrary to this maxim, that it is eſſentially neceſſary to it, as well for obſerving thoſe rules of behaviour to perſons of different ranks, which the French politeneſs has eſtabliſhed, as to cure himſelf of that error that his riches and the favour of his king place every other perſon in a ſtate of ſubordination to him. An inclination for the fair ſex is a ſource of weakneſſes and injuſtice, which will inevitably carry him beyond the bounds of his duty; a paſſion for deep play, will expoſe him to temptations a thouſand times more difficult to be overcome by a man who has all the money of the kingdom paſſing through his hands; that he may eſcape this dangerous ſnare, I am under a neceſſity of preſcribing to him to have no acquaintance either with cards or dice.

A diſlike of fatigue proceeds generally from the ſame inclinations which lead to voluptuouſneſs, or create effeminacy. A ſtateſman ought in temperance to ſeek for a remedy againſt a fondneſs for ſplendor, and the delicacies of the table, which ſerve only to enervate both body and mind. A virtuous man ought to be wholly unacquainted with drunkenneſs; a diligent man ought to be no leſs ignorant of what is called high living. As he ought to make his retirement in his cabinet at all times, and at all hours, not merely ſupportable, but pleaſing; he cannot be too careful to prevent his mind from running on the delights of balls, maſquerades, and other parties of pleaſure; in all theſe trifling amuſements

ments there is a nameleſs inchantment, that intoxi- 1598.
cates the hearts of philoſophers and miſanthropes themſelves. The ſame caution is neceſſary againſt hunting, keeping many ſervants, equipages, furniture, buildings, and all other occaſions of expence that luxury has invented. A taſte for any of theſe things ſoon degenerates into a kind of paſſion, of which the waſte of time is not the only bad conſequence; prodigality, ruin, and diſhonour, are the uſual effects of it: it belongs only to a man who cannot reſolve to live and amuſe himſelf with his own company, to think continually of galleries, columns, and gildings, and to run all his life after ſtatues, antiques, and medals. Do you learn to be contented with a common picture; the delicacy of procuring, at a great expence of money and anxiety of mind, original and other ſcarce pieces, proceeds wholly from an affectation of taſte.

I am, however, far from carrying the ſeverity of theſe maxims ſo far, as to forbid a man, inveſted with a public employment, from having any attention to his own eaſe; and to deny him all kinds of amuſement. I would have him indulge himſelf in moderate pleaſures, and take care of his fortune, provided that he does the one without diſſipation, and the other without diſhonour. It is one of thoſe advantages that attends a diſpoſition not prone to expence, and fond of regularity, that he who is poſſeſſed of it, if he lives long, finds himſelf inſenſibly in affluent circumſtances. To have made a fortune, a phraſe that has ſo hateful a ſound, becauſe, when it is applied to a man of buſineſs, it commonly means nothing but injuſtice, oppreſſion, and cruelty; and when applied to a courtier, nothing but mean tricks, deſpicable flattery, cringing ſervility, and even at ſome times knaveries and treachery, is nothing more than a natural conſequence, and even an act of virtue, where all ſee that the fortune is only the reward of labour, or an honeſt recompence of good actions: that I may not be miſtaken,

I will

1598. I will add, that this ought to appear ſo clearly as to force our greateſt enemies to ſee it and confeſs it *.

It ought therefore to be an eſtabliſhed rule, that every man who undertakes the management of the finances, or any other part of the miniſtry, ſhould make, and renew from time to time, a kind of acknowledgment of the ſtate of his income; that is, that upon his entrance into the miniſtry he ſhould draw up an exact and particular memorial of his preſent poſſeſſions, and upon his leaving it give in another in the ſame form; ſo that whatever alterations have happened in his fortune may be known to others as well as himſelf. I have already taken care to give the public an account of every augmentation of my fortune, and each new dignity that was conferred upon me, according to the different periods of time when they happened, and I ſhall ſtill continue this method: but as I look upon this affair to be ſubject to calculation, I am going to put every one into a way of doing it himſelf, and ſhall ſhew it completely done at the end of theſe Memoirs.

My father's eſtate being equally divided between me and the only remaining brother out of four that I had, my ſhare of it, joined to my wife's fortune, which was ten thouſand livres, amounted only to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand livres a year; and as it increaſed but very little during five and twenty years when the king had no means of rewarding his ſervants, this was my whole income when the revenues of the ſtate were committed to my care. I am ſenſible that there are many perſons who would bluſh to make ſuch a confeſſion; but for my part I have al-

* A great part of the maxims which fill up chap. 8. part 1. of the political teſtament of the cardinal de Richelieu, that treats both of the council and counſellors of the king, is evidently taken from this and many other places of M. de Sully's Memoirs; and chiefly what he ſays of the four qualities requiſite to conſtitute a perfect counſellor, to wit, capacity, fidelity, courage or reſolution, and application. I ſhall have occaſion in what follows to make ſome remarks upon that which ſeems overſtrained in the maxims and manners of M. de Sully, with regard to what is called luxury.

ready

ready ſaid, that in this reſpect I ſee only one thing that ought to give occaſion for a bluſh, which is, the infamy of poſſeſſing riches either ill or doubtfully acquired: I have neither the reproach of extortion, confiſcation, or unwarrantable profits to apprehend; all that I added to my firſt fortune aroſe merely from the king's bounty to me, ſo that I owe all to one God, and one maſter. 1598.

What I had been able to add to my fortune till the preſent year 1598, amounted to the following ſums, an appointment of two thouſand livres a year as counſellor of Navarre; as much, as counſellor of ſtate, with a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred livres, which the king annexed to this poſt: my ſalary as member of the council, having been augmented by degrees, and in proportion to the ſervices the king found he received from me, was, at this time, brought to twenty thouſand livres: the king doubled my company of gendarmes, which at firſt only conſiſted of fifty men, and after it was incorporated with that of the queen, of which I was made captain-lieutenant, the pay amounted to five thouſand livres: the king made me likewiſe honorary * counſellor of the parliament of Paris, but without any income. It was at this time, that Chauvelin the younger had the firſt diſpenſation that had been granted from the rule of forty days, paying for it four thouſand crowns. I ſhall make but one article of the government of Mante, which had been juſt then given me, and that of Gergeau which I had afterwards. Such was the ſtate of my fortune at that time; the courſe of it, till then extremely ſlow, became very rapid the following years, by the great offices with which his majeſty honoured me, and by rewards ſo conſiderable, that when I collect them together they will

* The letters patent by which Henry IV. made the marquis de Roſny an honorary counſellor, and thereby gave him a privilege of ſitting in parliament, &c. dated March 16, 1602. may be ſeen in the regiſters of the parliament of Paris: as alſo the enrolment of theſe letters, and his admittance accordingly on the 19th of March the ſame year.

make

1598. make one of the moſt important articles. I ſhall take into it his leaſt preſents, and even thoſe which I received from other royal perſons. Before I enter into the diſcuſſion of affairs, and account of the finances which I have promiſed, ſince I have begun to inform the public of my perſonal character, I will finiſh the picture by giving a detail of my public employments, and my whole manner of living, after I was in a public employment: this is the proper place for it, although, in order to ſay all upon this head at one time, it is neceſſary I ſhould ſuppoſe myſelf poſſeſſed of all thoſe poſts which were not given me till ſome time after.

Six days in the week a council was held both morning and evening; the firſt and moſt important was called the council of ſtate and the finances, which ſingly took up the Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Saturdays, by ſitting both in the morning and afternoon; the king was the head of it, and was generally preſent. The dukes and peers, the officers of the crown, the knights of the king's orders, or thoſe who had a warrant from his majeſty, had a ſeat and a voice in the conſultations: here were received and examined all kinds of petitions on any occaſion whatever, but eſpecially thoſe relating to the penſions of ſtate, which from this time began to be paid with a punctuality that made them be preferred to every other eſtabliſhment, and even to landed eſtates. The three other days of the week were likewiſe taken up morning and evening with different councils, which were called *conſeils des parties*, compoſed of a certain number of particular counſellors, where examinations were held of things properly referred to each of theſe councils: if there was any controverſy, it was diſpatched to the courts of juſtice to whoſe cognizance it belonged; and care was taken that juſtice ſhould be done honeſtly and ſpeedily. I was a member of each of theſe councils, and commonly preſided in them when the king was not preſent, which often happened, eſpecially in the *conſeils des parties*.

I never

I never failed to be at the council of ſtate, the whole buſineſs of which lay upon me: all the letters and petitions that were to be preſented there were addreſſed to me; and as the queſtions that require general deliberations are not very common, it often happened, that in communicating the affair, I delivered likewiſe the reſolutions to be taken; and often carried thither arrêts ready drawn up, that every thing might be diſpatched at one ſitting; and it happened but very ſeldom that alterations were made. I have always laid it down as a rule, that the anſwers which are given for regulating the conduct of perſons employed in great affairs, cannot be too expeditious, or too diſtinct; all the time that is ſpent in conteſtations is loſt time. 1598.

It may be eaſily imagined how much time theſe employments demanded: I accuſtomed myſelf to riſe at four o'clock in the morning, both in winter and ſummer; and the two firſt hours were taken up in putting in as much order as poſſible thoſe affairs that were to be each day brought upon the carpet: a miniſter who acts otherwiſe will leave all things in confuſion and perpetual diſorder, by the different perplexities he will find himſelf involved in at laſt. At half an hour after ſix I was dreſſed, and ready to attend the council, which began at ſeven, and generally ended at nine; and according to the importance of the buſineſs that was tranſacted in it, at ten, and ſometimes eleven o'clock. It often happened that his majeſty, inſtead of coming to the council, would ſend for me at nine or ten o'clock, when it was over, and either alone, or with his two other miniſters of ſtate*, Villeroi and Sillery, walk with

* Thus were thoſe called then, who ſince have been intituled ſecretaries of ſtate: and ſuch as were named ſecretaries of ſtate, as M. Forget, M. Lomenie, M. Beableu-Ruſé, and M. Potier, were properly no more than four ſecretaries of the finances, or his majeſty's firſt clerks. Tho' it appears that none of the three hath been called prime miniſter of ſtate, yet ſo unequally was the diſtribution of the functions of the miniſtry made between M. de Sully and his two colleagues, and Henry IV. gave the firſt ſo great a ſhare, and ſo much authority in us,

1598. us, acquaint us with his intentions, and give each of us orders relating to our particular employments: from thence I went home to dinner.

My table generally conſiſted of ten covers; and being ſerved with a moderation that was not approved of by the lords of the court, eſpecially the epicures, who make a ſerious affair of refining upon every thing that is eat or drank, I ſeldom invited any perſons to dine with me; ſo that my table was uſually filled only with my wife and children, or at moſt with ſome friend who was not more difficult to be pleaſed than myſelf. Frequent attempts were made to alter my conduct in this reſpect, but I always replied to any reproaches of that kind, in the words of an ancient, That if the gueſts were wiſe there was ſufficient for them; if they were not, I could ſuffer the want of their company without trouble.

When dinner was over, I went into my great hall, where it was known that I regularly gave audience, and therefore at that hour always full: every one was admitted, and had free audience; the reply was no leſs ſpeedy: herein my particular taſte agreed perfectly with his majeſty's intention. I began with the eccleſiaſtics of both religions: the country people, who remained laſt, were kept but a little time in expectation. I took care to diſpatch every one's buſineſs before I retired; and even ſent for thoſe who, ſtaying in the court or the garden, had ſuffered the hour to ſlip. If the affair that was propoſed to me was equitable, and depended upon me, I promiſed in two words the execution of it; if otherwiſe, I civily chid the propoſer, and honeſtly forbore to

what belonged to their province, that we may ſay he was, in effect, prime miniſter, only that he had not the name: this title was not at that time much in uſe; for the chancellor Du Prat, under Francis I. the conſtable de Montmorency, under Henry II. &c. did not bear it, tho' they ſolely poſſeſſed the confidence of their maſters. M. de Villeroi was at the head of foreign affairs, having alſo the preſident Jeannin for his collegue. M. de Sillery and Bellievre, who became chancellor ſome little time after, had the management of all domeſtic affairs.

meddle

meddle with it: if it appeared doubtful, or complicated, I called an intendant, or one of my ſecretaries, to whom I gave the papers that led to an explanation of it. And ſuch was my management, that the affair was totally diſpatched within a week, if I had promiſed it; and let the buſineſs be ever ſo much perplexed, the council before whom it was laid always diſpatched it within the month. 1598.

As to the other councils, which were held on Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Fridays, I aſſiſted at them likewiſe as long as I could, before the increaſe of my employments had likewiſe increaſed my buſineſs, and even afterwards; but when the direction of the marine, artillery, fortifications, buildings, bridges, and cauſeys, were entruſted to me only, to which muſt be added the affairs of my governments, I was obliged to apply to this buſineſs in the place of the other; and to devote the mornings of theſe three days to the diſpatch of buſineſs relating to theſe offices, becauſe his majeſty thought them of conſequence enough, eſpecially that of ſurveyor-general of the high-ways, and ſuperintendant of the fortifications and works, to be preſent at the clearing the accounts of each of theſe bodies of people, which was done in the preſence of the governors and other officers, who were called together in a body on theſe occaſions: notwithſtanding this, I did not neglect the other councils, but took care to be preſent when any important affair was debated, eſpecially when it related to war.

I regulated my time in ſuch a manner, that I had ſtill leiſure enough for thoſe other affairs, and alſo for many more which I have not yet mentioned. The extraordinary and unforeſeen buſineſs I was engaged in, the converſations I had with his majeſty, the orders and letters I received from him, may be imagined by a general declaration, that this prince not only informed me of whatever happened to him, but alſo entruſted me with his moſt private affairs,

1598. fairs*, his ſecrets, deſigns, reflexions, private diſtempers, pleaſures, domeſtic uneaſineſſes, fears, hopes, amours, friendſhips, and diſguſts; in a word, all was confided to my fidelity and diſcretion, terms which I am juſtly entitled to make uſe of. In all theſe moments, to comply with the king's deſires and occaſions, there was an abſolute neceſſity to lay aſide the moſt preſſing buſineſs, to invent ſchemes, to go upon private errands, anſwer letters, and undertake journies; by all which, the affairs of the ſtate would have been injured, if by giving the night as well as the day to theſe accidental employments, which were not regulated by months, days, or hours, an extreme diligence in reſuming thoſe affairs that had been interrupted by them, had not reſtored every thing to its proper ſtate.

One is ſurprized, in giving this detail, how, with ſuch an exact economy of time, there ſhould remain ſo little for affairs merely domeſtic: the few moments I could ſpare for them, I was never able to find but in one of the afternoons of thoſe ſame three days; and theſe I ſnatched by intervals. It was neceſſary therefore that my wife ſhould accuſtom herſelf to do all that I was not abſolutely obliged to do; otherwiſe I muſt have relied upon people of buſineſs, or upon my domeſtics.

As to amuſements, and hours of eaſe and refreſhment, which were neceſſary to ſoften the fatigue of ſuch extreme application to buſineſs, they were regulated with as much exactneſs as my moſt ſerious affairs; but, like them, ſubject to frequent interruptions: when, by good fortune, this did not happen, I had no occaſion to go out of the arſenal to find them; for it was in this caſtle that I reſided from the time I was made grand maſter till the

* "Never any miniſter had the "confidence of his maſter more "entirely than this had: and ne- "ver was any more worthy of it, "on account of his fidelity, ac- "tivity, continual application to "buſineſs, and diſintereſtedneſs in "every thing that related to the "king's ſervice, &c. Hiſt. de France de Chalons, tom. III. p. 255.

death

death of my king, which gave me up to the tranquillity of a private life. The exerciſes of the arſenal, which was an excellent ſchool for young people, gave the greateſt relief to my mind, eſpecially when I ſaw my children, my ſon-in-law, my relations and friends, mingled together: the good company which appeared in the afternoon at that little rendezvous, the exultations which were often heard, the air of gaiety without effeminacy, and of pleaſure without negligence, which appeared there, is, of all things which I know, moſt proper to relieve a mind to which, by long habit of labour, all the amuſements of mere idleneſs have been made inſipid. In whatever manner I ſpent the afternoon, when the hour of ſupper arrived, I ordered all my doors to be ſhut, and no perſon to be ſuffered to enter, unleſs he came from the king. From this hour, till I returned to bed, which I always did at ten o'clock, there was no longer any mention of buſineſs, all was eaſe, mirth, and ſocial joy, with a ſmall number of good and agreeable friends. 1598.

The office of prime miniſter, though at all times laborious, is not always loaded with the ſame difficulties; and the good fortune of thoſe is to be envied, who are called to it at a conjuncture when the whole ſtream of affairs having for many years run on in a calm and regular courſe, they have nothing to do but ſit quietly at the helm, content themſelves with a general inſpection, and leave the reſt to be performed by that great number of perſons who act under their order. This advantage I never enjoyed, as may be perceived by what I have had occaſion to ſay of it at different times; and, not to touch yet upon the affairs of the finances, which was at that time an ocean without bottom or ſhore, I deſire the reader juſt to caſt a look upon the different perplexities which muſt be met with, without examining foreign affairs; a cabal of diſaffected people to watch narrowly, and, if poſſible,

1598. to break; a religious diſpute to terminate, a powerful party to ſatisfy, and a general ſubordination and ſcheme of government to eſtabliſh and cauſe to be obſerved. Things were in ſuch a ſtate, that of all thoſe officers of war and *police*, of the finances, judicature, and the king's houſhold, of penſioners, and thoſe that received ſalaries from the ſtate, nothing more was known than that their number was infinite, and that there was a neceſſity for learning their names, and marking them all in a regiſter, in order to ſuppreſs part of them.

The affairs of war were in the utmoſt diſorder, the regulation of which did not, as may poſſibly be thought, depend upon the diſbanding part of the troops; there was a neceſſity for taking cogniſance of all the towns and fortreſſes, moſt of which were ſo near deſtruction, that upon this account, as well as to leſſen the number of garriſons that were ſupported in France, thoſe that were uſeleſs were to be demoliſhed; which could not however be done till after the death of thoſe perſons from whom it would have been dangerous to take away the governments of them.

The marine alone might have furniſhed buſineſs enough for one miniſter for a great number of years; for this part of the ſtate, which requires ſo much application, does not make a very rapid progreſs; it can be derived only from that quiet and ſplendor which a kingdom gains by peace and a good government*. It is not to be imagined to what a degree the marine, and the commerce that depended on it, had been neglected in France. I agreed with the king, that this eſtabliſhment ſhould be begun at the foundation; that the ſea-coaſts ſhould be viſited, and ports examined, in order to take meaſures for

* "A nation muſt be very "powerful, ſays cardinal Richelieu, after M. de Sully, to pretend to this inheritance, (the poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty at ſea) the titles to it being founded more in force than in reaſon." Teſtament politique de ce cardinal, part. II. chap. ix. § 5, 6. Cardinal D'Oſſat, in ſeveral of his letters, adviſes Henry IV. to put his marine on a new footing.

repair-

repairing them. That the ſame ought to be done with thoſe few diſabled veſſels and galleys that were yet to be found, till new ones could be built; after which, officers ſhould be appointed, and ſailors and pilots ſought for, who might be ſtimulated to induſtry by rewards: in a word, to ſpare a longer detail, that an abſolutely new marine ſhould be created. 1598.

All this could not be performed but by degrees, and a little at a time. The finances being that part of the body of the ſtate which was moſt diſeaſed, required aſſiſtance firſt: the greatneſs of the evil may be imagined, by an inventory of the ſums which were drawn from the exchequer to bring over the heads and other principal members and cities of the league to the king's party. This inventory has ſomething curious enough; it amounted to more than thirty-two millions of livres, and is as follows*.

To the duke of Lorrain and other perſons comprehended in his treaty, three million ſeven hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five livres: To the duke of Maïenne and others comprehended in his treaty, together with two regiments of Swiſs, whom the king took upon himſelf to pay, three million five hundred and eighty thouſand livres: To the duke of Guiſe and others comprehended in his treaty, three hundred and eighty-eight thouſand livres: To the duke of Nemours and others, three hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand livres: To the duke of Mercœur, for Blavet and other towns of Brittany, four million two hundred ninety-five thouſand three hundred and fifty livres: To the duke D'Elbœuf, for Poitiers, &c. nine hundred and ſeventy thouſand eight hundred and twenty-four livres: To meſſieurs de Villars and the chevalier D'Oiſe, for Rouen and Havre, compre-

* Here the old Memoirs have an error, in the calculation, of about one hundred thouſand livres.

1598. hending likewiſe the indemnification granted to the duke of Montpenſier, marechal Biron, the chancellor, &c. three million four hundred ſeventy ſeven thouſand eight hundred livres: To the duke d'Epernon and others, four hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand livres: For the reduction of Marſeilles, four hundred ſix thouſand livres: To the duke of Briſſac, for Paris, &c. one million ſix hundred ninety-five thouſand four hundred livres: To the duke of Joyeuſe, for Toulouſe, &c. one million four hundred and ſeventy thouſand livres: To monſieur de La Chatre, for Orleans, Bourges, &c. eight hundred ninety-eight thouſand nine-hundred livres: To meſſieurs de Villeroi and d'Alincourt, for Pontoiſe, &c. four hundred ſeventy-ſix thouſand five hundred and ninety-four livres: To monſieur de Bois Dauphin and others, ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand eight hundred livres: To monſieur de Balagny, for Cambray, &c. eight hundred and twenty-eight thouſand nine hundred and thirty livres: To meſſieurs de Vitry and de Medavy, three hundred and eighty thouſand livres: To the ſieurs Vidame d'Amiens, d'Etournelle, marquis de Trenel, Seſſeval, du Pêche, Lamet, &c. and for the cities of Amiens, Abbeville, Peronne, Coucy, Pierrefont, &c. one million two hundred ſixty-one thouſand eight hundred and eighty livres: To the ſieurs de Bellan, Quionville, Joffreville, Du-Pêche, &c. and for Troyes, Nogent, Vitré, Chaumont, Rocroy, Chateau-Porcien, &c. eight hundred thirty thouſand and forty-eight livres: To meſſieurs de Rochefort, and for Vezelay, Macon, Mailley, &c. four hundred fifty-ſeven thouſand livres: To meſſieurs de Canillac, d'Achion, Lignerac, Monſan, Fumel, &c. and for the city Du Puy, &c. five hundred forty-ſeven thouſand livres: To meſſieurs de Monpezat and de Monteſpan, &c. and for ſeveral cities of Guienne, three hundred and ninety thouſand livres: For lion, Vienne, Valence, and other cities of Dauphiny, ſix hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand

ſand eight hundred livres: To the ſieurs Daradon, La-Pardieu, Bourcanny, Saint-Offange, for Dinan, &c. one hundred and eighty thouſand livres: To the ſieurs de Leviſton, Baudoin, and Beauvillers, one hundred and ſixty thouſand livres. 1598.

I ſhould terrify my readers were I to ſhew them that this ſum made up but a ſmall part of that which was demanded from the exchequer, both for the French and foreigners, under the title of pay, penſions, loans, arrears, &c. and that the total of all theſe ſums, after making ſome deductions, amounted, by the computation I made, to near three hundred and thirty millions of livres: this calculation I would lay down here, but that I think it will appear more properly when I ſhall treat of the diſcuſſion of all theſe particulars.

Here was a large field diſplayed for the labours of a ſuperintendant of the finances; but the difficulty was, where to begin; the exorbitancy of the ſtate debts demanded an increaſe of the taxes; but the general poverty a diminution of the old: and every thing being well conſidered, I even found it for the intereſt of the prince, that the cries of the public miſery ſhould be heard. It is not poſſible to give a juſt idea of the dreadful condition to which the provinces were reduced, eſpecially thoſe of Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, and Guienne; the theatres of long and bloody wars and outrages, by which they were wholly exhauſted. I granted, over the whole kingdom, a remiſſion of the remainder of the ſubſidies of 1596, which were yet to pay*; a proceeding that neceſſity, as well as charity and juſtice, demanded. This gratuity, which gave the people time to breathe again, was the loſs of twenty millions to the king; but it facilitated the pay-

* Together with the arrears of preceding years, for which private perſons had given their bonds to the receivers of the taxes; ſome of which bonds, according to Le Grain, liv. vii. being ſeven years backwards, were declared null and void.

1598. ment of the ſubſidies of 1597, which had been otherwiſe morally impoſſible.

After this relief I endeavoured to procure the country people as many more favours as I was able, being ſtrongly perſuaded, that, it could not be the ſum of thirty millions, which was raiſed every year in a kingdom ſo rich and of ſuch extent as France, that could reduce it to the condition I now ſaw it in; and that the ſums made up of extortions and falſe expences, muſt certainly infinitely exceed thoſe which were brought into his majeſty's coffers. I took the pen, and reſolved to make this immenſe calculation. I ſaw, with a horror which gave new force to my zeal, that for theſe thirty millions that were given to his majeſty, there were drawn from the purſes of the ſubjects, I almoſt bluſh to ſay it, one hundred and fifty millions *: the thing appeared to me ſo incredible that I could not believe it, till with great induſtry I convinced myſelf it was true. After this, I was no longer ignorant from whence the calamity of the people proceeded, at a time when, although commerce was interrupted, induſtry ſtopped or perſecuted, the farms neglected and without value, and every other kind of wealth diminiſhed in proportion, they had been obliged to furniſh a ſum ſo much beyond their abilities, which had been forced from them with the utmoſt violence.

* This ſum, exorbitant as it is, will not, however, appear exaggerated, if we conſider, that beſides the ordinary expences of levying it, which were at that time exceſſive, the people had ſtill a great number of other impoſitions and exactions to bear. "For France "would become too rich, ſays "cardinal Richlieu, Teſt. pol. part "II. chap. 9. §. 7. and the peo"ple be in too flouriſhing a con"dition, if the public money, "which other ſtates expend with "œconomy, were not ſquandered "with prodigality here. She loſes "more, in my opinion, than thoſe "kingdoms that pretend to rival "her lay out in their ordinary diſ"burſements." Upon this he relates a good ſaying of a Venetian ambaſſador; to wit, that to render France happy, he wiſhed no other, than that ſhe knew as well how to expend the money ſhe ſquandered without reaſon, as his republic did not to ſpend one ſingle farthing without occaſion and the greateſt good huſbandry.

I then

I then applied my cares to the authors of this oppreſſion, who were the governors and other officers of the army, as well as the civil magiſtrates and officers of the revenue; who all, even to the meaneſt, abuſed, in an enormous manner, the authority their employments gave them over the people: and I cauſed an arret of council to be drawn up, by which they were forbid, under great penalties, to exact any thing from the people, upon what title ſoever, without a warrant in form, beyond what they were obliged to on account of their ſhare of the tallies and other ſubſidies ſettled by the king; the treaſurers of France being enjoined to give information of all contrary practices, on pain of being anſwerable for them themſelves. 1598.

This arret was a check to the greedineſs of all theſe petty extortioners, but raiſed a furious reſentment in them againſt me; and notwithſtanding there was ſomething ſhameful in expreſſing it, yet many of them made loud complaints of me, as if I had in reality ſtripped them of their lawful poſſeſſions. The duke d'Epernon was the firſt who explained himſelf on this head, and ventured to come to a quarrel with me about it: the mortification he had ſuffered had not leſſened the fierceneſs and inſolence of his temper. The Provençals had often bleſſed the moment when he quitted their province: no people could be more miſerable than his vaſſals, and thoſe that were too near neighbours to his lands; he raiſed every year at their expence, a revenue of above ſixty thouſand crowns.

The members of the council, to whom this arret gave as much pain as to the duke d'Epernon, informed him of the day when it was to be paſſed; and he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to prevent it. Accordingly he came and took his ſeat in the council; and addreſſing himſelf to me, made

* The quarrel which is here ſpoken of happened on Monday the 26th of October, 1598, at the chancellor's, where the council was held. "The duke d'Epernon having told M. de Roſny that he

1598. a compariſon, with great arrogance and contempt, of the manner in which he ſupported the honour of his name, with that in which I diſgraced mine, by the new trade I had taken up. To this imperti-

" was not obliged to wait upon " him at his houſe, valuing his " quality at a very high rate; the " latter made anſwer, with an air " of rodomontade, That he was " deſcended from one of the old- " eſt families in France. Yes, Sir, " replied the duke d'Epernon, if " you will allow that there is ſome " difference betwixt you and me. " Having mentioned his ſword, " and taken occaſion to raiſe the " profeſſion of arms above all " others, M. de Roſny returned, " That he likewiſe had a ſword, " and knew how to uſe it. To " which the duke d'Epernon re- " plied, That he did not doubt " that. The chancellor then in- " terpoſing pacified them: where- " upon they began to talk a little " more coolly; when M. de Roſ- " ny, reſuming the diſcourſe, ſaid " to him, Sir, you have treated " me as if I were ſome petty tax- " gatherer. No, replied the duke " d'Epernon, you will find, that " I am not come hither to give you " any opprobrious language. I " am not a perſon to be uſed ſo, " ſays M. de Roſny, interrupting " him: ſuch treatment I would " not bear from any man alive. " I did not intend any affront, ſays " the duke d'Epernon. I am glad, " returns M. de Roſny, affecting " to take his antagoniſt's laſt " words as an apology, that you " did not affront me. I give no- " body any affront, replied the " duke d'Epernon; and were even " that the caſe, I carry about me " what will give ſatisfaction to " perſons of my own rank, and " to others according to their ſta- " tions. It was, probably, after " theſe laſt words, which were " very provoking, that both of " them clapt their hands to the " hilts of their ſwords. The " chancellor and the other coun- " ſellors had often interpoſed, and " at length parted them." The 8055th volume of MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, from which I take theſe particulars almoſt word for word, relates them, with ſome other ſimilar circumſtances, to ſhow the haſty and proud temper of the duke de Sully: and at the ſame time the whole of this account is given us in ſuch a manner as is not at all favourable to him. Le Grain has alſo this fact in his eye in what I am going to quote. But tho' he agrees, that a miniſter ought, above all things, to have a great regard for moderation, yet he cannot forbear juſtifying M. de Sully: " How was it poſſible, ſays he, " that he ſhould retrench ſo many " penſions and ſalaries of officers " who did no ſervice for them, " refuſe ſo great a number of per- " ſons that preſſingly claimed and " demanded rewards, and have a " watchful eye over the many " counſels that were given the " grandees of the kingdom, which " counſels he often turned to the " king's advantage, and to their " great diſſatisfaction, without be- " ing inveſted with a very exten- " ſive authority, and ſhewing at " the ſame time a lofty ſupercilious " carriage? The king too would " have it ſo, to the end that all " might be on an equal footing, " till he had diſcharged his duty " towards his kingdom and en- " riched it: for which reaſon ſub- " jects ought not to murmur. " And in as much as the king teſ- " tified his approbation of all M. " de Sully's actions, when his ma- " jeſty declared to ſome of the " great ones that wanted to quar- " rel with him, that he himſelf

nence I replied without any equivocation, by declaring to him, that every way I thought myſelf at leaſt his equal. This plainneſs threw d'Epernon into a rage, inſtead of that inſulting calmneſs he had affected at firſt; and he proceeded to menaces, which I heard with no more patience than the reſt. I anſwered him with great ſpirit: he replied in the ſame manner: and, without further explanation, each of us laid his hand on his ſword. If the perſons who were preſent had not thrown themſelves between us, and forced us to go out of the council at oppoſite doors, a very uncommon ſcene would have been acted in the place where this debate happened. Our quarrel being related to the king, who was then at Fontainebleau, his majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with the zeal which on this occaſion I ſhewed for juſtice, that he wrote to me that ſame hour with his own hand, and praiſing my conduct, offered to be my ſecond againſt d'Epernon, to whom he ſaid he would ſpeak in ſuch a manner, as to prevent him for the future from giving me any more inſults of that kind. D'Epernon perceiving the king was greatly offended with him for this proceeding, aſked my pardon in the preſence of his majeſty, who obliged us to embrace each other. 1598.

Beſides thoſe revenues which the princes of the blood, with the king's ſiſter at their head, and the officers of the crown had contrived for themſelves, the people were farther incommoded by the manner of their collecting the revenues. There was not one of theſe perſons who was not a penſioner of the king, under the title of their employments, rewards,

" would be his ſecond; we are " not at liberty to canvaſs ſuch " proceedings, nor injure his ma- " jeſty's memory after his death, " nor the duke de Sully's honour " during his life, ſeeing he acted " nothing but for the ſervice of his " maſter.——God 'grant," adds this writer, after ſhewing the wiſdom and neceſſity of the king's conduct, and that of his miniſter, " that this treaſure may be pre- " ſerved with the ſame care that " it has been acquired," liv. vii. I thought this remark neceſſary to be made, as in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs I ſhall adduce a great many other examples, like the diſpute we have juſt now ſeen mentioned.

gra-

1598. gratuities, or treaties made with his majeſty on their returning to their obedience to him; and, by an effect of the licentiouſneſs of the paſt times, it was cuſtomary for theſe officers, inſtead of addreſſing themſelves to the treaſurer of the exchequer for the payment of their penſions, to pay themſelves out of the produce of the farms upon which they had aſſignments; ſome upon the tailles, ſome on the exciſe, others upon foreign commodities, the crown lands, five large farms, eſcheats, tolls of rivers, *comptables de Bourdeaux* patents of Languedoc, Provence, &c. The king had no other means of paying more conſiderable debts which he had contracted with foreign princes, namely, the king of England, the count Palatine, the duke of Wirtemberg, the duke of Florence, the Swiſs Cantons, the republic of Venice, and the city of Straſbourg. His majeſty paid in the ſame manner thoſe penſions that policy required he ſhould allow foreign princes and communities; for France has always made herſelf a voluntary debtor to all Europe: from whence it happened, that all theſe different creditors ſet up new farms for their profit, in the midſt of the king's; they had their commiſſaries and accountants among thoſe of his majeſty's, and who applied themſelves with equal induſtry to pillage the people. Certainly there never was a more dangerous, and at the ſame time a more ſhameful abuſe, that every one, and particularly foreigners, ſhould be thus ſuffered to concern themſelves with the revenues of the ſtate; and monopoliſers of all nations multiply uſuries and extortions in the moſt audacious manner *, and with impunity arrogate to themſelves part of the royal authority.

* This abuſe muſt have drawn after it ſome conſequences of ſo ruinous a nature, that we cannot too much bleſs the memory of him who had the courage to charge himſelf with the public odium, entirely to extirpate it; inſtead of accuſing him of a haughty behaviour and ſtern temper, without which it would have been impoſſible for him to have accompliſhed it.

Nothing ſeemed to me more neceſſary than to ſtrike ſuddenly at the root of this evil, by a ſecond declaration; in which all the foreigners, and natives, princes of the blood, and other officers, were forbidden, on pretence of any claim, title, or debt whatever, to levy money upon the farms, and other revenues of the ſtate; and were enjoined to apply to the exchequer only for the payment of their penſions, arrears, &c. I ſaw, unmoved, the ſtorm which ſuch a declaration could not fail of raiſing againſt me: in effect, the arret was no ſooner publiſhed, than every place reſounded with the clamours of the lords, and chief gatherers of taxes; from whoſe complaints and exclamations, it ſhould ſeem that they had been reduced to beggary, when they were only brought back to the conditions of their original agreement, and had their payments tranſferred to different funds. The king, who had great ſenſibility in his temper, was moved at theſe complaints, and could not ſuppoſe them to be ſo unreaſonable as they were; he was apprehenſive that my zeal had probably carried me to commit ſome imprudence; he therefore ſent for me, and as ſoon as I approached, "Ah! friend, ſaid he to me, what "have you done?" 1598.

It was not difficult for me to convince his majeſty, that I had acted upon principles of juſtice and regularity; that it was not fit his finances ſhould have any longer ſo many maſters, nor ſo many different mortgages; that the farms would produce him an income twice as great, as ſoon as their value ſhould be raiſed by being in his hands, and that this profit had not before accrued to the different proprietors, but to their agents and clerks; and laſtly, that whenever this was done, it was not depriving them of what was their own, but taking away profits which they had no right to. The king comprehended the juſtneſs of this proceeding, but he was perplexed about the diſcontent he muſt neceſſarily give to Sir Thomas Edmonds, agent to the queen

1598. queen of England; a certain German, factor to the duke of Wirtemberg; Gondy, farmer to the duke of Florence; and laſtly, the conſtable, his godfather, the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in his court, and his own ſiſter.

I intreated his majeſty to ſend for ſome of them, to whom I might ſpeak in his preſence. The conſtable was but juſt gone out of his apartment: he was called back: "Well, godfather, ſaid the king "to him, what complaint have you againſt Roſ-"ny?"—"I complain, ſays he, that he has put "me upon the level with the common people, by "taking from me a poor little aſſignment which I "had in Languedoc upon a tax, of which nothing "ever came to you." I anſwered the conſtable with great civility, that I ſhould be the firſt to acknowledge myſelf guilty, if it had been my deſign that he ſhould loſe any thing. I aſked him what profit he made of this impoſt, knowing well that he was one of thoſe perſons from whom the contractors exacted the higheſt price for their ſervices. Monſieur de Montmorency anſwered my queſtion; and I aſſured him, that he might depend on being paid the whole ſum. "'Tis well, ſaid he; but who will "promiſe me that I ſhall be paid exactly as I now "am?" "I will, replied I, and will give you "his majeſty for ſecurity, who ſhall never turn "bankrupt, I promiſe you, at leaſt if he ſuffers "me to manage his revenues as I propoſe to do; "and I will be counter-ſecurity to him, becauſe I "expect, that if I make him rich, he will be ſo "kind to me that I ſhall never break."

The conſtable, who was a plain honeſt man, was pleaſed with my anſwer, and ſincerely approved my ſentiments; he even confeſſed to me, that he had let out the impoſt in queſtion for only nine thouſand crowns a year, out of which he was obliged to give two thouſand to the treaſurer. "All this I "know, replied I, and I am reſolved to give you "the nine thouſand crowns entire; yet the king "ſhall

" ſhall have eighteen thouſand, and there will ſtill " remain four thouſand for me." The conſtable was amazed; he was not willing to own he had been ſo greatly impoſed upon; while the king in the mean time laughed heartily. However, the next day I brought a perſon to his majeſty, who in his preſence took this farm at fifty thouſand crowns, in the name of the ſtates of Languedoc. The king offered to aſſign me, upon this ſum, the four thouſand crowns, which I had only propoſed in jeſt. I refuſed it, and told his majeſty, that the diſorder in the finances, which I was endeavouring to remedy, having moſtly proceeded from the eaſy temper of the deceaſed king, in appropriating his farms to the gratuities he beſtowed on thoſe about him, as well financers as others, they would infallibly fall again into the ſame inconveniency, if it was not made a cuſtom for men of buſineſs, who ſerved his majeſty uſefully, to receive their rewards only from his hands. The king agreed that I was in the right, and I loſt nothing by it, for having procured twelve thouſand crowns to be advanced upon this farm, he ſent Beringhen with a preſent of four thouſand to me. 1598.

I ſatisfied all thoſe perſons who were in the ſame ſituation as the conſtable; and, indeed, what could be more reaſonable, than that his majeſty ſhould himſelf receive his own revenues? As for all the reſt, whoſe intereſt made them deaf to arguments ſo convincing, I gave myſelf no more trouble about them. By this article, the revenues of the crown had an addition of ſixty thouſand crowns.

This trouble was ſlight, compared with that which I found in laying open the tricks of the traders: the moſt likely means I could think of to accompliſh it, was to procure ſuch a general and exact account of the finances as I have mentioned: but here lay the difficulty: I was not ſatisfied with that which I drew up, as has been obſerved, in the year 1596, for 1597; nor even for the year following, altho'

1598. altho' it was much more exact than the others, becauſe I was under a neceſſity of regulating my calculations according to the reports, and by the accounts of the intendants and treaſurers; from all whom, without exception, notwithſtanding the caution I uſed in chuſing them for this purpoſe, I had reaſon to expect artifice and fraud. I therefore went to work again this year: I collected all the commiſſions of tailles ſent to the ſeveral diſtricts, and all the edicts by which money was raiſed throughout the kingdom; to theſe I joined the tariffs made in conſequence of theſe edicts, and the leaſes and under leaſes granted by the council to the firſt and ſecond farmers: I compared all theſe pieces according to the knowledge which my former work had afforded me in this matter; and at laſt I thought that I had come for once to the bottom of the buſineſs: there was ſome abuſes in the ordinary commiſſions of the tailles; theſe, however, were the leaſt; there were much greater in the extraordinary commiſſions granted before-hand for the enſuing year; but the chief enormities appeared to ariſe from the under-leaſes: the farmers that took them from the council, and the treaſurers of France, whom the farmers employed, fingered twice as much as had been aſſigned them; and as theſe farmer-generals granted under-leaſes of under-leaſes, the ſeries of under-leaſes proceeding without end, produced a multiplication of charges, endleſs likewiſe, and afforded no other advantage than that of maintaining in profuſion thoſe who did nothing to deſerve it; firſt, the gentlemen of the council, then the farmers, and the reſt of the ſubordination, who kept the trade a profound ſecret into which they had been once initiated.

I was tranſported at this diſcovery; and by the authority of the king, to whom I had told it, I ſtopt the produce of the tailles paid upon extraordinary commiſſions, and, without having any regard to them, ſent word to the receivers, that they ſhould

ſhould account for it as for any other money, and ſhould immediately remit it. I annulled for ever the under-leaſes; and ordered, that for the future every part of the revenue ſhould have only one farmer and one receiver. Great were the clamours on this occaſion; but the moſt diſcreet amongſt the farmers, knowing that theſe murmurs only ſerved to make them be taken notice of, and finding that by the ſuppreſſion of a great part of the contractors, places were likely to become ſcarce, came in haſte to look for me, and took the ſame farms again upon their own account; with this difference, that their profit came to the king, the value of the farms being doubled*. 1598.

In proportion as my work was improved by my experience, I brought my general ſtate of the revenues towards perfection; it then came into my mind to go on no longer by the forms of accounts, ſuch as the receivers had drawn up themſelves, but to ſend them ſome contrived by myſelf; in which I endeavoured to have every thing clear, and drawn up to the minuteſt particular. When they were returned to my hands I examined them over again with the utmoſt accuracy, noting the ſlighteſt inadvertence or omiſſion; ſo that there was ſoon nothing at all left out, even in the leaſt and moſt obſcure parts of the revenue, becauſe every thing was to be juſtified by the writings which I ordered to be brought along with it, and which I compared with the utmoſt attention. Thus I blew up all the mines

* Though we are more and more convinced of the juſtice of this, to wit, that the king ſhould take for his own advantage all poſſible ſhare in the profits of his farms and other revenues; yet we find, it ſeems, and that with ſome ground of reaſon, that ſince the duke of Sully's time, there has not been made, in this reſpect, all that progreſs which his views, and the great care he took, had apparently given hopes to expect. We ſhall have occaſion to enter into this matter at ſome greater length, when our author comes to ſpeak of the farming of the *tailles*, and other impoſts, which is the true cauſe of all the difficulties that are to be met with in attaining to the end he propoſed, and which all the miniſters after him have endeavoured to reach at.

of

1598. of the receivers, which were very numerous, ſuch as, pretended differences, bad money, drawbacks, immunities, privileges of office, payments of rent, charge of carriage, fees to judges, and coſts of auditing accounts; all theſe, and more, were very commodiouſly uſed to the advantage of the commiſſioners, becauſe no-body had given himſelf the pain, to rate, according to their real value, all thoſe particulars which, being thus ſwelled beyond their bulk, ſwallowed up a great part of the ſum received; and the people of the council, who ought to have examined them, knew the advantage of this jargon. So little care was taken of the accounts of the receivers, that a man often quitted his employment, charged with vaſt ſums of arrears, which afterwards ſunk into oblivion. I put an end to this cuſtom: I obliged thoſe who came into office to enquire after the men that had gone before them, and uſed the only method that could have any effect upon them. As long as any arrears remained, they had no other fund for their ſalaries and allowance. They then knew very well how to hinder theſe little bankruptcies, inſtead of favouring them, as they had hitherto done.

Several paymaſters, and particularly thoſe of the chamber of accounts, upon whom aſſignments are moſt frequently granted, had the ingenuity to contrive ways of tiring out thoſe who brought the aſſignments, by frequent delays, till they were content to take part of the money granted them, and to give an acquittance for the whole. I ordered that no payment ſhould be kept back; and that no money ſhould be taken for prompt payment. This prohibition put an end to all the accounts of the repayment of money payable by the precepts of the chamber, and to the multiplicity both of accounts and charges, by which the king's money was ſtolen to an incredible degree. From this time we had a clear inſight into the finances, and confuſion was at an end.

When

When the general ſtate, of which I have been ſpeaking, with the regulations and different models were drawn up, I went to read them before the council, in the king's abſence. I eaſily perceived that my collegues were offended at my diligence, and at my neglecting to deſire their aſſiſtance in my work. However, they contented themſelves with anſwering me drily, and in a jeſting manner, that my ſecretaries had an eaſy time of it with me: theſe papers were indeed all written with my own hand *. But as ſoon as I had left them, they acknowledged that my labour had been infinitely great and exact; and that it would be in vain for the future to pretend to hide any thing from me. Two days after, when his majeſty was preſent in the council, I read theſe papers again; upon which he aſked them their opinions of my accounts. They allowed them to be very right, and ſaid, that for a ſoldier I was extremely expert in buſineſs. I know not whether it was they who were the authors of a piece of ſlander that was current about that time, namely, that I had employed † Du-Luat to write a book, in which, under pretence of giving a new view of the finances, I railed, without charity or reſerve, at his majeſty's beſt ſervants. The king aſſured me, that all the endeavours of my enemies ſhould never alter his friendſhip for me. In effect, his majeſty, from 1598.

* The preſent duke of Sully preſerves, as a choice curioſity, a great part of theſe manuſcripts, with many other originals of M. de Roſny's, which he takes pleaſure to ſhew to ſuch as viſit him: he looks upon them as one of the principal ornaments of the muſeum which his taſte for the ſciences induces him to augment daily: and theſe are, in fact, ſo many glorious monuments of his illuſtrious family.

† Ange Capel, the ſieur Du-Luat. There is mention made in vol. 8778 des Manuſcrits de la Bibliot. du Roi, of a book in which he gives many uſeful hints to the members of the council with regard to the finances: this, no doubt, is the book which our author means here. Du-Luat is repreſented to us in the remarks on chap. ix. de la Confeſſion de Sancy, as a quick, ready, and agreeable flatterer, who in a manner bewitched the duke de Sully, his maſter, with a genealogy, in which he derived his pedigree from the houſe of Courtenay. Journal du regne de Henry III. printed in 1720, tom. II. p. 477.

1598. that moment, behaved to me in ſuch a manner, as to make me look upon him rather as a friend than a maſter; he intereſted himſelf in all my concerns, ſhared in all my joys, and bore a part of every affliction.

I ſhould be doubly ungrateful if I concealed the obligations I received from this prince: with regard to the finances, they were not confined to the ſupporting all my proceedings with the utmoſt reſolution (as it happened when the mayor and aldermen of Paris refuſed to communicate their accounts to me, under pretence that they had no connexion with the council of the finances) nor in preventing all my deſires, or with the gentleſt goodneſs conſoling me under difficulties, as he generally did, by propoſing himſelf for an example: his knowledge and his advice, eſpecially in relation to the finances, had often been of great uſe to me; and I candidly confeſs, that without it I ſhould have in vain attempted an enterpriſe ſo difficult as a reformation in them: moſt part of my deſigns were hinted by him *; and I keep, with the greateſt care, whole memorials written, altho' very long, with his own hand, upon ſubjects which equally employed us both.

After this I ought to own, with the ſame ſincerity, that moſt of thoſe praiſes which were given to the adminiſtration of affairs in the reign of Henry IV. ought with juſtice to revert to him. Others would have ſerved him with equal abilities and as much fidelity as me; for it never happens that good ſubjects abandon their king; it is the king who abandons good ſubjects. The great difficulty will ever be, to meet with a prince, who in a miniſter capable of managing his affairs, ſeeks not for one who will comply with all his inclinations, and ſooth all his paſſions; who uniting great wiſdom to great penetration, calls none to thoſe employments but

* M. de Perefixe, p. 225. likewiſe aſſures us, that Henry IV. had thoroughly ſtudied the ſubject of the finances.

per-

perſons whom he knows to have as much rectitude as capacity; in a word, who being poſſeſſed of great abilities himſelf, has not the weakneſs to envy that advantage in another. This jealouſy of merit in a ſovereign, which ſuppoſes, however, that he is himſelf maſter of ſome degree of it, creates in one ſenſe more diſorders in a ſtate, than the hatred he is known to have of particular vices can do good. 1598.

When I quitted Brittany I left there regulations for the finances, differing according to the nature and privileges of that province; and afterwards ſent thither the ſieur de Maupeou, maſter of accounts, as well to enforce the obſervation of them, and raiſe the value of the farms in that province, as to haſten the payment of the money for which I had ſettled a fund. I likewiſe ſent, for the ſame purpoſe, Coeſnard, auditor of accounts, to Poictou, and Bizouz to Champaigne. I appointed Champigny over the toll of the rivers in the diſtrict of Orleans and Touraine. But for this time I have ſaid enough of the finances.

I will now proceed to incidents of another kind, which by their ſingularity rendered this year remarkable. It is yet a queſtion, of what nature that illuſion might be which was ſeen ſo often, and by ſo many perſons, in the foreſt of Fontainebleau: it was a ſpectre *, ſurrounded with a pack of hounds, whoſe cries were heard, and who were ſeen at a diſtance, but vaniſhed when any one approached near to it.

* Perefixe mentions this apparition, and makes it ſpeak, with a hoarſe and frightful voice, theſe words, *M'attendez-vous*, or *M'entende vous*, or *Amendez vous*. He aſcribes theſe viſions to the deluſive arts of ſorcerers or evil ſpirits, ibid. part iii. See likewiſe Journal Henry IV. and La chronologie ſeptennaire, ann. 1599, where it is ſaid, that the king and his court, who laughed at this apparition as a fable, ſaw it one day diſtinctly among the buſhes, in the ſhape of a tall black man; which ſo frightened them, that the beſt was he that could ſhew the lighteſt pair of heels. P. Matthieu aſſures us, tom. II. p. 268, that one day, at Fontainebleau, the duke of Sully, having heard the noiſe of it, came down, imagining it was the ſtamping of the king's horſes, after his return from hunting. Bongars, epiſt. 184. ad Camerar, tells us, with an air of gravity, that this was the ghoſt of an huntſman that had been killed in the foreſt in the time of Francis I.

1598. A whale was taken on the coaſt of Holland, eighty feet in length *. The Tiber overflowed in ſuch a manner as to throw down a great number of houſes, and laid part of the city of Rome under water. A report was ſpread in Europe, that the Jews, through hatred of the Chriſtians, had offered the grand ſignior five hundred thouſand ducats to deſtroy the holy ſepulchre at Jeruſalem.

But the moſt intereſting event, and with which this year was cloſed, was the death of Philip II. king of Spain, after ſuffering, for the ſpace of eight or nine months, ſuch agonizing † torments, as a principle of piety only could have enabled him to ſupport with that patience he ſhewed for ſo long a time: however, this heroiſm of his was quite loſt upon the vulgar. When they reflected, that through his avarice and ambition he had almoſt drowned the new world with the blood of its miſerable inhabitants, and on his own ſubjects exerciſed equal cruelties, except taking away their lives, they looked upon thoſe infectious ulcers with which his whole body was covered, to be not ſo much a natural accident, as the effect of divine vengeance. He left a will behind him, which, in my opinion, is too curious a piece to be paſſed over in ſilence; it is not certainly known whether he dictated it in his illneſs,

* See the deſcription of this monſtrous fiſh in the Chronologie Septennaire, p. 17. and the account of this overflowing of the Tiber, in cardinal d'Oſſat's letters, p. 365. "It was greater, ſays he, than any "recorded in hiſtory; ſo that the "whole plain on which ſtands the "city of Rome was under water a "pike's height in the ſtreets and "houſes; and that not one among "a hundred could go to hear maſs "on Chriſtmas-day. This inun-"dation did inеſtimable damage," &c.

† "For two and twenty days "together there was, ſays Pere-"fixe, a flux of blood from all the "veſſels of his body; and a little "before his death impoſtumes that "broke in his breaſt, from which "there continually iſſued ſo great "a ſwarm of vermin, that all the "care of his attendants could not "deſtroy them." Ibid. M. De Thou, liv. cxx. adds to this a dyſentery, teneſmus, dropſy, &c. and he gives as moving a deſcription of the deplorable condition of this prince, as of his patience and religious ſentiments under it. Mathieu ſays, that he had no leſs than ſeven fiſtulas on two fingers of his right hand; and he aſcribes this terrible diſeaſe to the debaucheries of his youth. He died on Sunday, September 13.

and gave it with his own hand to his ſon, or whether it was found after his death, with his other private papers, in the box that he had put into the hands of Chriſtopher de Mora, his favourite; but this circumſtance, of ſmall importance in itſelf, is likewiſe of no conſequence towards proving the authenticity of this piece, which is clear from many others. The copy that fell into my hands was ſent me by the ſame perſon who ſent one to the king; this was Bongars, his majeſty's agent to the proteſtants in Germany, who had it from the landgrave of Heſſe, and that prince from the cities of Venice and Genoa; and it is in every reſpect ſo exactly conformable to thoſe which were ſent into different places, that it removes all doubt of its being forged by ſome of his catholic majeſty's enemies *. 1598.

In this piece Philip begins with a candid enumeration of all the faults he had committed, and places at their head his chimerical ſcheme of univerſal monarchy, the abſurdity of which he earneſtly endeavours to make his ſucceſſor ſenſible of, by his example, and by that of Charles V. his father, whoſe inſtructions he adds to his own, altho' he confeſſes he had not profited by them. To this will he joins the memoirs which had been left him by that emperor †, to the end that Philip III. might always keep them together. The emperor Charles V. being in the flower of his age, and of a healthy and vigorous

* Notwithſtanding what M. de Sully ſays here, the piece which in his Memoirs is intituled, *Teſtament du Roi d'Eſpagne*, is neither the genuine latter will of that prince, nor even a faithful extract of it; which may eaſily be diſcovered, by comparing it with the particular and circumſtantial one which M. De Thou gives us, liv. 120. But it might happen that this writing, which was likewiſe called, *Inſtruction du Roi d'Eſpagne à ſon fils*, might really have been a ſecret, and have nothing more in common with the will and teſtament of this prince, than its being drawn, as is evident, in the ſame ſpirit, and in conformity to the ſame maxims, without the precaution that is commonly uſed in writings deſigned to be made public. As to the ſubſtance thereof, it is given us in the Chronologie Septennaire, in the ſame manner as in theſe Memoirs, only in a different ſtyle and order.

† M. De Thou finds nothing in the laſt will of Philip II. comparable to the wiſdom of the diſpoſitions, and the dignity of expreſſion, ſhewn in that of Charles V.

1598. conſtitution, maſter of Spain and Germany, covered with glory and elated with ſucceſs, formed the deſign of ſubduing the Infidels, and re-uniting all the powers of Europe, as well as all the religions, to his. After many years ſpent in fruitleſs attempts, he quitted his crown, and with it all his chimerical projects. Philip II. his ſon, ſuffered himſelf to be taken in the ſame ſnare, and ſucceeded ſtill worſe, which he was deſirous his ſucceſſor ſhould know. The difference of religions, laws, and manners among the Europeans; their almoſt equal knowledge of the art of war, the great number of ſtrong cities with which Europe is filled, and which made as many long and painful ſieges neceſſary; the inconſtancy of the ſeveral nations, who are always ready to obey the firſt comer, who offers to aſſiſt them in repelling a domination which it had taken immenſe labours to eſtabliſh; all theſe Philip repreſented as unſurmountable obſtacles to ſo great a deſign.

He acknowledges that he had not been always of the ſame opinion; that the impetuoſity of youth had prevented him from making thoſe prudent reflections at firſt, and that afterwards two great victories, and the diviſions which tore the kingdom of France to pieces, contributed to continue his infatuation, and to make him reject with diſdain all the offers that had been made him for an advantageous peace. And he thought he had reaſon to fear that his ſon would not make a better uſe of his underſtanding, it was by a declaration of all that a ridiculous ambition had made him unwiſely undertake, that he ſought to cure him.

He therefore acknowledges as a fault his having endeavoured to get himſelf declared emperor of all the new world; he accuſes himſelf of a deſign to invade Italy upon frivolous pretences; to conquer the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, a project which in ſix years had coſt him twenty millions in preparations only for a fleet with which he expected to overwhelm this power: this was the fleet called the

the Invincible Armado, which, however, was reduced to nothing at one ſtroke, in 1588, as ſoon as it ſet out; to bring the Low Countries into ſubjection; to overthrow the French monarchy, by taking advantage of the weakneſs of the laſt king, and prevailing upon his ſubjects, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtics, to revolt; and laſtly, to deprive his own uncle Ferdinand, and Maximilian, king of the Romans, his nephew *, of the empire. He obſerves, that theſe intrigues coſt him above ſix hundred millions of ducats †; a proof of which, he tells his ſon, he would find in the accounts which he left in his cabinet, drawn up and written by himſelf. He blames himſelf leſs for his profuſion of money, than that of human blood, which he cauſed to be ſhed: and indeed the confeſſion he makes, that he had ſacrificed twenty millions of men to his luſt of dominion, and laid more countries waſte, than all thoſe he poſſeſſed in Europe, is enough to raiſe horror in every mind not wholly diveſted of humanity. 1598.

What has been the effect of all this? This is the reflection which he propoſes to his ſon. Providence, as if it had thought itſelf concerned to prevent ſuch wicked deſigns from ſucceeding, cauſed him to loſe Germany, by the jealouſy and hatred of his own relations; England, by the winds and ſtorms; Ireland, by the treachery of its inhabitants, whom its great diſtance ſecured from his reſentment; France, by the inſtability of the people, and their averſion to a foreign domination ‡, and laſtly, by the great qua-

* "Philip II. was called, The "devil of the ſouth, *Dæmonum meridianum*, becauſe he troubled all "Europe, in the ſouth of which "Spain lies." Notes ſur la Henriade.

† P. Matthieu ſays, that the Indies yielded to the king of Spain two hundred and ſixty millions of gold in the ſpace of ſixty-four years; and that he might have conquered all Turkey with that treaſure only which he ſpent in Flanders. Tom. II. liv. 2. p. 266.

‡ In the genuine latter will of Philip II. is an article with regard to Henry IV. the omiſſion of which in our Memoirs is ſufficient to prove, that the piece to which this name is given is ſuppoſititious; and that is, That this prince being troubled with ſtrong remorſe of conſcience for the uſurpation of the kingdom of Navarre, recommends

1598. lities of their king. So that the mighty preparations he had made, and the torrents of blood that had been ſhed, procured him no other advantage than the acquiſition of the little kingdom of Portugal to his dominions.

After this, Philip made a more particular application of theſe inſtructions to the perſon and ſituation of the heir to his throne; and reduced to the following articles the politics from which no king of Spain ought ever to depart, and Philip III. leſs than any other, on account of his tender age: theſe articles were, firſt, To maintain with France the peace which Philip II. himſelf hoped to have concluded before his death, and this as well in conſideration of his own intereſt and quiet, as out of regard to his people: To keep up a good correſpondence with the pope, and to ſtrengthen it by having always a great many cardinals in his intereſt: To be upon friendly terms with the emperor and his family; nevertheleſs, not to ſuffer the penſions to paſs through his hands, which his intereſt required he ſhould continue to the electors, princes, and prelates of Germany, in order to keep them always attached to him by thoſe largeſſes; at the ſame time to take care to foment diviſions among them, which would afford him the means of turning to his advantage thoſe opportunities that time might produce for acquiring the empire: To be more vigilant on the ſide of Germany, as there is a greater multiplicity of intereſts in the northern countries than in any other place. Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, were powers from which he thought there was little to be apprehended; the firſt, not only on account of its diſtance, but

to his ſon what had been before recommended to himſelf by his father, namely, to cauſe this point to be carefully examined by the moſt able lawyers, in order to reſtore the crown to its rightful owner, if it ſhould come out ſo, according to equity. Charles V. had ſaid as much to Philip II. and Ferdinand and Iſabel to Charles V. . . . In this manner to refer the executing of a diſpoſition known to be juſt, to a ſucceſſor who, one might be aſſured, would pay no regard to it, is what M. de Thou calls an impudent trifling with the Deity.

becauſe

becauſe the policy of the princes its neighbours, as well as its own, being miſtaken, made the king of Poland rather the miniſter than the maſter of his ſubjects: the two others, by reaſon of their diſtance likewiſe, joined to their poverty and unſkilfulneſs in war, were as little to be feared. He took care not to ſay the ſame with regard to France, England, and Flanders, which he conſidered as powers very formidable to Spain, and againſt which he recommended it to his ſon, to be always upon his guard. 1598.

With reſpect to England *, his advice was, to neglect nothing to prevent the three crowns which compriſe the Britannic iſles from being placed on the ſame head; an event which this able politician, from a ſpirit of prediction, mentioned as very near; and for that purpoſe not to regret the money which was diſtributed in thoſe iſlands to make partiſans, and to continue filling them with ſpies, but of another ſort from thoſe that were then there, whoſe fidelity Philip II. thought he had reaſon to ſuſpect. To cultivate carefully thoſe diviſions which a diverſity of religions might produce in that ſtate, as well as in France: he conſidered thoſe which the league gave riſe to amongſt us as things now ſtale and uſeleſs, ſince we had a king of Henry's capacity: but to give occaſion for many other civil diſcords in each of thoſe two ſtates, and eſpecially ſuch as might keep them in war againſt each other, or at leaſt in diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, which might be done, by favouring the pretenſions of one upon the other, to which their mutual hatred naturally incited them. To conſider as the greateſt misfortune imaginable that ſtroke which ſhould join the United Provinces, and thoſe two powers already united amongſt themſelves, in one common intereſt; ſince from thence muſt naturally reſult a power capable, ſays he, of ſubjecting ſea and land. To find means to exclude

* They alſo make him ſay at the point of death when ſpeaking of England, *Pacem cum Anglo, bellum cum reliquis*, "Peace with the Engliſh, and war with all the reſt of the world."

all

1598. all the princes of Europe from the navigation of the two Indies, an attempt which could meet with no obſtructions but from thoſe three powers; and leſs from France than the two others, becauſe ſhe had no marine; a new motive for gaining poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, and yet more of England.

However, amidſt all theſe counſels that Philip gave his ſucceſſor, he never adviſed him to enter into any war, not even with the rebels in the Low Countries, but earneſtly diſſuaded him from it. The conduct he recommended to be obſerved with the Provinces was, to grant a general pardon there; to require nothing of the people but that they ſhould acknowledge the Spaniſh authority; to watch the behaviour of the governors, miniſters, and officers, that were maintained there; not to continue them too long, nor to give them a too abſolute power, becauſe they would be the perſons whom they would have the moſt reaſon to fear, if ever they entertained a deſign of heading the party.

If, however, Spain could not avoid engaging in a war, Philip was not willing that his ſucceſſor ſhould be deprived of that knowledge which experience had given him in that reſpect. He appriſed him, that if he propoſed not to ſink under it, he muſt not undertake a war but in ſuch favourable opportunities, as might, from time to time, preſent themſelves; ſuch as, changes in the government, civil diſſentions, faults or neceſſities of the ſovereigns, &c. This maxim of Philip, that a Prince ſhould make himſelf acquainted even with the moſt particular inclinations of the princes his neighbours, is ſo true, and of ſuch vaſt importance, that no change ſhould ever happen in the ſtates about him but what he ſhould be prepared for, and in readineſs to take advantage of that inſtant. He concluded this article by ſhewing the new king, that he is anſwerable for his actions at the tribunal of a God who judges wars, and, unhappily, not by the ſame rules which warlike princes lay down for themſelves.

After

After theſe maxims, which regarded only the government abroad, Philip proceeded to thoſe which he thought neceſſary for the government at home. He held it juſt, that a king of Spain, having nations under his command, between whoſe cuſtoms and manners there was as great a difference as diſtance in their realms, ſhould ſtudy to govern each according to their reſpective character, and all with gentleneſs and moderation: That he ſhould be acquainted with the talents and diſpoſitions of his counſellors and ſecretaries, and chuſe them himſelf: that he ſhould likewiſe expedite all his diſpatches, and render himſelf expert in the uſe of cyphers, that he might not expoſe a ſecret of conſequence to be betrayed by a confident: That he ſhould be careful to ſeek for men of honour and ſufficient abilities to beſtow employments upon: That he ſhould avoid giving any perſon any great cauſe of complaint, eſpecially thoſe of high quality; he obſerved, that the prince, his eldeſt ſon *, had ſuffered by it; and that he ſhould make a juſt diſtinction between the ancient and the new nobility, in order to advance the laſt, as being generally ſuſceptible of pure and diſintereſted ſentiments: That he ſhould leſſen the number of the perſons that were employed in the revenues, adminiſtration of juſtice, and the officers of the houſhold; and recommended the ſame conduct to be obſerved with regard to the eccleſiaſtics; to which he added, that they, as well as others, ought to contribute to the neceſſities of the ſtate, not only becauſe they could better afford it, on account of their riches, but likewiſe becauſe it became neceſſary for them to do ſo, if they would not forfeit the reſpect that was due to their character, by luxury, ſloth, and impiety, the ordinary fruits of great riches, and the indolence in which they lived; but that he ſhould increaſe the number of merchants, huſbandmen, artiſts, and ſol- 1598.

* Don Carlos, prince of Spain: it was by order of his father that he loſt his life: and it appears that his crime was rather gaining over the affections of the grandees than treating them with contempt.

diers;

1598. diers; by whoſe induſtry, labour, and frugality alone, a ſtate is ſupported againſt the ruin with which it is threatened by the diſſoluteneſs of the other ranks. All principles, which like theſe, tend to maintain ſubordination and œconomy in a ſtate, againſt corruption and diſorder, merit praiſe from whatever mouth they proceed.

Philip cloſed his will with the article relating to domeſtic diſpoſitions. He enjoined his ſucceſſor to fulfil the promiſes and other clauſes of the infanta his ſiſter's marriage. He propoſed a match for the young king, in which he had already made ſome advances, and privately regulated all the articles, which he informed him he would find in the hands of Loo. He obſerved, that no king ever loved his father's favourite; yet, notwithſtanding, he would propoſe Chriſtopher de Mora for his confident, who had been his own. Philip III. choſe rather to prove the truth of the obſervation, than to comply with the requeſt, and gave Mora's place to the marquis of Doria. He required, as an inſtance of reſpect due to the memory of a father, that all thoſe perſons to whom he had given employments ſhould be continued in them; but he expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner with regard to this article, as ſhewed he rather wiſhed than hoped for a compliance with it. He recommended to his ſon the doctors Ollius and Vergius, who had attended him in his illneſs. He mentioned Antonio * Peres as a dangerous man, with whom it was neceſſary he ſhould be reconciled; and afterwards not to permit him to ſtay either in France, Flanders, and eſpecially Spain, but in the uſeleſs country of Italy. Philip concludes this piece with

* Antony Peres had been chief miniſter to Philip II. with whom he fell into diſgrace for reaſons which have no manner of relation to the ſubject of theſe Memoirs: he retired to Paris, where he died in 1611. He was a great politician, and a man of very conſiderable parts; the following maxim was one of his, which includes a deal of meaning in three words, namely, *Roma, Conſego, Piolago*; that is to ſay, To gain over the court of Rome, compoſe the council or proper perſons, and to be maſter at ſea.

a ſhort

a ſhort maxim. To love God, to endeavour to be virtuous, and to profit by the precepts of a father. It muſt be confeſſed, that in this piece there are likewiſe many more ſtrokes of * piety and reſignation to the will of God, who he ſaid had in mercy chaſtiſed him in this life rather than the other. 1598.

The firſt of theſe articles which was executed by the king of Spain was that relating to his marriage with the arch-ducheſs of Gratz †: he ſent immediately after the death of his father to demand her in marriage; and in the beginning of the year following ſhe ſet out for Spain, accompanied by her brother, the arch-duke Albert, with whom ſhe landed upon the coaſt of Marſeilles, for the benefit of that air. The duke of Guiſe, who was governor of the province, having notice of it, ſent to let the king know of her arrival, and received orders to give this princeſs a very honourable reception; his majeſty deſtined fifty thouſand crowns to be expended for that purpoſe, and ordered them to be paid at Marſeilles. I was upon the point of ſending thither, to direct how this money was to be diſpoſed of, either La-Font, or another of my domeſtics, who was only a footman of my wife's, a man of low ſtature and a mean figure, but in whom I had diſcovered ſo much capacity, fidelity, and prudence, that I thought I ought to endeavour his eſtabliſhment: but there was no occaſion for it, a perſon I had upon the ſpot was ſufficient; for the arch-ducheſs, notwithſtanding the inſtances that were made her by the duke of Guiſe and the city of Marſeilles, would not enter any of the great cities, to avoid the ceremonial, but ordered tents to be ſet up upon the ſhore, where ſhe reſted and heard maſs; the arch-duke, indeed, was ſo de-

* "He ordered his coffin to be "brought him, which was made "of copper, and a death's head to "be laid upon a buffet, with a "crown of gold by it;" ſays La Chronologie Septennaire, where, ann. 1598, we may find, together with an account of all that this prince ſaid and did in his laſt illneſs, the hiſtory alſo of his public and private life.

† Margaret of Auſtria, daughter to the arch-duke of Gratz.

vout

1599. vout as to viſit the churches at Marſeilles, but went to them incognito, and without any train; and after kiſſing the relics, returned without either eating or drinking.

This marriage united the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria by a double tye, the deceaſed king of Spain having already, on the 5th of May the preceding year, married the infanta Iſabella, his daughter, to the arch-duke Albert, who, for that purpoſe, had diveſted himſelf of the cardinal's purple. This princeſs had, in appearance, a very large portion, ſince it was made up of no leſs than the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, Franche-Comté, and Charolois: but the additional clauſes that were inſerted, that this new ſovereign ſhould be excluded from any commerce in the Indies, and not ſuffered to permit in his ſtates the exerciſe of any religion but the Roman catholic, without which the donation was made void, reduced it, in effect, to nothing, by the difficulty he would find in obliging the Flemiſh to accept of ſuch hard conditions.

The arch-duke, till he could go in perſon to Flanders, to remove all theſe obſtacles, ſent the high admiral * of Arragon thither, in the quality of his lieutenant-general, who performed ſome actions on the frontiers of Germany; and afterwards his couſin, the cardinal André, who iſſued out many edicts, but without effect. The houſe of Auſtria began to think there was danger in delays; therefore the arch-duke went himſelf into the Low Countries, taking with him his bride, on the 5th of September this year; the remainder of which was ſpent in threatenings on his ſide, which likewiſe produced nothing; ſo that there was a neceſſity for coming to open force: and this was the beginning of that long and bloody war between Spain and the Flemiſh, the pro-

* Conſult the Chronologie Septennaire, both as to theſe military expeditions, and as to all that is here ſaid of the marriage of the king and the infanta of Spain, for the years 1598, 1599. Matthieu, ibid. p. 298, &c.

greſs and event of which I ſhall take notice of each year. 1599.

At the ſame time that the marriage of his catholic majeſty was celebrated in Spain, that of the princeſs Catherine with the prince of Bar* was celebrated at Paris. It was upon this eſtabliſhment that the princeſs at length fixed her deſtiny, hitherto ſo uncertain. During the life of queen Catherine it was firſt propoſed to marry her to the duke of Alençon; but Henry III. would not conſent to it, on account of the hatred he bore to his brother. Afterwards, they talked of giving her to Henry III. himſelf; but this the queen-mother oppoſed, through the averſion ſhe had to the family of Navarre. This princeſs, in her turn, refuſed the old duke of Lorrain, becauſe he had children by a former marriage. The king of Spain demanded her, on condition of a ſtrict union between the king of Navarre and him, which the firſt of theſe princes would not hear of. The princeſs was afterwards ſought by the duke of Savoy; but in circumſtances wherein this marriage might prove prejudicial to the proteſtant religion, and therefore the proteſtants themſelves threw difficulties in the way. She would not have the prince of Condé on account of his poverty; and refuſed the king of Scotland, without giving any good reaſon for it. The prince of Enhalt made likewiſe his advances. And in thoſe tranſports of anger with which ſhe was ſometimes animated againſt the king her brother, ſhe reproached him, that he would have thrown her into the arms of three or four other foreign princes, or, as ſhe called them, gentlemen, for the payment of their ſubſidies. Laſtly, her inclination for the count of Soiſſons made her reject the duke of Montpenſier, who was a ſuitable match for her. At length, the neceſſity of procuring an

* Henry, duke of Bar, who became duke of Lorrain, after the death of his father, Charles II. "The king gave his ſiſter, at her "marriage, three hundred thouſand crowns of gold for her portion," ſays the hiſtorian Matthieu, ibid. p. 278.

eſtabliſh-

1599. eſtabliſhment determined her to accept the prince of Bar.

This deſigned marriage was no ſooner made public, than the eccleſiaſtics in general, and the French biſhops in particular, then aſſembled at Paris, found, in the difference of religion of the two parties, a reaſon for hindering its concluſion, which they did not ſuffer to eſcape them. The firſt meaſure they took was to hinder, at Rome, with all their power, the diſpatching of the diſpenſation, without which, they imagined, it was not poſſible to proceed to the celebration of the marriage. In this reſpect, they could not truſt the care of their intereſts to one more faithful than D'Oſſat, who nevertheleſs was ſent to this court to manage thoſe of the king. But this is not the firſt time, nor will it be the laſt, that this eccleſiaſtic has ſuffered from me, and will again, the reproach of having not only exceeded but betrayed his commiſſion. If I may give credit to the memorial from Rome which has been already mentioned, D'Oſſat, in the name of the whole party of whom he was the inſtrument, neglected nothing to diſſuade the pope from granting the diſpenſation, which he was particularly employed by his majeſty to ſolicit. Theſe perſons gave his holineſs to underſtand, that if he continued firm in his refuſal to grant this favour, it would produce two things equally to be deſired; one, that the princeſs would turn catholic; the other, that a ſuch a change would be thought by the proteſtants an effect of the violence uſed to her by the king her brother, for that purpoſe, which would increaſe the diſtruſt they already openly ſhewed of his majeſty, make them conſider him as their enemy and declared perſecutor, and bring on, at length, that inteſtine war which, according to them, was ſo much to be deſired, for the intereſts of the holy father and the true religion.

The clergy did not ſtop here; they made remonſtrances ſevere enough to merit the title of threats. His majeſty had the complaiſance to liſten to them, and

and permitted a conference to be held, in which doctor Du-Val on one ſide, and the miniſter Tilenus on the other, endeavouring to ſupport their cauſe, debated with much heat, and, in my opinion, to little purpoſe; though each boaſted afterwards, that he had vanquiſhed his adverſary. I ſpeak as one who was a witneſs of the diſpute, for I ſuffered myſelf to be drawn along with the crowd which ran thither, as to a very intereſting ſpectacle. I did not come in till toward the concluſion, when the two diſputants were beginning to ſink under the fatigue. I know not for what reaſon they were deſirous of making me play the part of a judge upon this occaſion; probably becauſe they were informed I had been employed by his majeſty to draw up the articles of marriage between the princeſs Catherine and the prince of Bar. They were beginning to repeat to me all the points of a diſpute, which had already taken up ſeveral hours; but I earneſtly intreated them to ſpare me either this trouble or this honour, telling them, that if two ſuch learned men had not been able to reconcile the canon and decrees of the pope with the holy ſcripture, or to prove that ſuch a taſk was impoſſible, it could not be expected that ſuch an ignorant perſon as I ſhould be equal to it; and this was really my opinion. 1599.

This conference not having produced all the effects the clergy expected from it *, and finding likewiſe that they ſucceeded no better at Rome, they declared, that nothing ſhould be capable of prevailing upon them to give their conſent to this marriage. Little regard would have been paid to this; but as there was a neceſſity for getting a biſhop to perform this ceremony, and that all thoſe gentlemen held together, hence aroſe an obſtacle, upon which they founded their laſt hopes.

* Perefixe ſays, that the king not being able to accompliſh her converſion, though he made uſe of threatnings, ſaid one day to the duke of Bar, "My good couſin, 'tis your buſineſs to break her."

1599. In this perplexity the king was adviſed to have recourſe to the archbiſhop † of Rouen, from whom, being his natural brother, and obliged to him for the biſhopric, more complaiſance was to be expected; beſides, his majeſty, as well as all France, knew this prelate to be not very ſcrupulous (to ſay no more) in matters of religion. However, upon the firſt propoſition made him by the king, the archbiſhop, like a devout rebel, overwhelmed him with citations, as often ill as well choſen, from the holy fathers, the holy canons, and the holy ſcriptures. The king, aſtoniſhed, as may be well imagined, at ſuch uncommon language from a man who generally talked of quite different matters, could hardly hinder himſelf from laughing in his face, aſking him, by what miracle it was that he had become ſo learned and conſcientious? Suppoſing, however, the archbiſhop might be wrought upon by ſerious arguments to comply, he tried their efficacy; but finding him ſtill untractable, he grew angry, and reproached him with his ingratitude. "Since you carry it ſo high," added Henry, reſuming his firſt air of pleaſantry, "I will ſend you a great doctor, your uſual con-"feſſor, who is wonderfully ſkilful in caſes of "conſcience." This great doctor and director of conſciences was Roquelaure, an old companion of monſieur de Rouen's, and an actual ſharer in his debauches, by whoſe intreaty he had obtained the archbiſhopric. The prelate underſtood perfectly well the meaning of this little threat, and the embarraſſment he appeared to be in was a proof that he was under ſome apprehenſions of thoſe great advantages which an accuſtomed familiarity would give Roquelaure over him, without the addition of thoſe which he derived from that wit which all the court acknowledged to be free, ingenious, and fruitful in the moſt happy ſallies; and the archbiſhop himſelf was

† Charles, the natural ſon of Antony of Navarre by mademoiſelle de La-Beraudiere de La-Guiche, otherwiſe called La-Roüet, who was one of the maids of honour to the queen mother.

not often guilty of carrying too far the reſpect due to the epiſcopal character. 1599.

The king having quitted monſieur de Rouen, ſent for Roquelaure; "Do you know, Roquelaure, ſaid "he to him, that your archbiſhop takes upon him "to play the prelate and doctor, and would quote "the holy canons to me, which I believe he under-"ſtands as little of as you or I; however, by his "refuſal my ſiſter's marriage is ſtopped: therefore "pray go to him, and talk to him as you uſed to "do, and put him in mind of paſt times."

"By the Lord, ſire, replied Roquelaure, this is "not well done of him; for it is high time, in my "opinion, that our ſiſter Kate ſhould taſte the ſweets "of marriage. But pray, ſire, tell me what rea-"ſons this fine fellow of a biſhop gave you for his "refuſal? he ſeldom has much better to give than "myſelf. I will go to him and teach him his duty."

He did not fail to perform his promiſe. "What "is this I hear, archbiſhop?" ſaid he, as ſoon as he entered his apartment: "they tell me you have "been playing the coxcomb; by the Lord, I will "not ſuffer it; it derogates too much from my ho-"nour, ſince every one ſays you are governed by "me. Know you not that at your entreaty I be-"came your ſecurity to the king, when I prevailed "upon him to give you the archbiſhopric of Rouen; "therefore I deſire you would not make me out a "liar, by continuing thus obſtinately to act like a "fool: this might do between you and I, who are "often ſeen quarrelling at dice, but ſuch diſputes "muſt not be thought on when our maſter's ſer-"vice and his abſolute commands are in queſtion."

"Merciful God! replied monſieur de Rouen, "what is this you would have me to do, Roque-"laure? What! muſt I make myſelf ridiculous, "and ſuffer the reproaches of all the other prelates, "by an action which the whole world agrees is un-"juſtifiable, and which every one of the biſhops to "whom it has been propoſed by the king has refuſ-

1599. "ed?" "Hold a little, pray, interrupted Ro-
"quelaure: there is a wide difference between them
"and you; for thoſe men have puzzled their brains
"ſo much about Greek and Latin, that they are
"become fools—and you are the king's brother,
"and obliged to obeyed all his commands, without
"any heſitation: the king did not make you an
"archbiſhop to preach to him, and quote the ca-
"nons, but to do whatever his ſervice required:
"if you continue this perverſeneſs and obſtinacy, I
"will acquaint Jeanneton de Condom, Bernarde
"l'Eveillee, and maſter Julian with the whole ſtory:
"Do you underſtand me? don't let me tell you
"this a ſecond time: know, that nothing ought to
"be ſo dear to you as the king's favour, which,
"together with my ſolicitations, have done you
"more good than all the Greek and Latin of the
"others: By the Lord, it is a fine thing to hear
"you talk of the canons, of which you know as
"little, as of High-dutch." Monſieur de Rouen endeavoured to perſuade him, that he ought to quit that ludicrous ſtyle, which was agreeable enough when he was in his youth; and hinted ſomething concerning paradiſe to him. "How! paradiſe!
"" interrupted Roquelaure: Are you ſuch an aſs to
"talk of a place, where you have never been, where
"you know not what is doing, or whether you ſhall
"be admitted when you attempt to get in till ano-
"ther time!" "Yes, yes, ſaid the archbiſhop,
"I ſhall be admitted there, do not doubt of it."
"You talk finely, ſaid his companion, preſſing ſtill
"harder upon him. By the Lord, I believe para-
"diſe is as little deſigned for you as the Louvre for
"me: but let us lay aſide a little your paradiſe,
"your canons, and your conſcience, and do you
"now reſolve to marry the princeſs to the prince of
"Bar; for if you fail, I ſhall take from you three
"or four paltry Latin words that you have always
"in your mouth; farther the ſaid deponent know-
"eth not: and then adieu to the croſs and mitre;

" and, what is worſe, to your fine palace of Gail- 1599.
" lon, and revenue of ten thouſand crowns."

Many other things paſſed between theſe two men, which may be gueſſed at by this ſample. Roquelaure would not leave the archbiſhop till he had made him promiſe to marry the princeſs, and accordingly he was the perſon that performed the ceremony *. I received from both parties very magnificent preſents, in return for the pains I had taken; among others, a Spaniſh horſe of great value, which was given me by the duke of Lorrain: I ſent him to his majeſty, who ordered me to keep him.

This was not the only occaſion on which the clergy were againſt the king; they made a more reſolute and likewiſe a more important oppoſition againſt the regiſtering the edict of Nantes, which always appeared to them a difficult morſel to digeſt: as they had for almoſt a year held an aſſembly at Paris on this account, they had had time to prejudice the parliament, and other ſovereign courts, as well as the Sorbonne, againſt this edict. All theſe bodies, as ſoon as it was publiſhed, rebelled, and occaſioned diſorders that may be better imagined than deſcribed. It was the ſubject of all diſcourſe; every one applied himſelf to criticiſe the piece, and to offer different arguments againſt it, all which were far from being juſt, as well as the reaſons the parliament gave for not regiſtering it: but that candor and ſincerity I have profeſſed to obſerve here in matters that neareſt concern me, oblige me to confeſs, that they were not abſolutely to blame.

* " The ceremony was performed one Sunday morning, ſays " the Chronologie Septennaire. . . " The king came to fetch the lady " Catherine, his ſiſter, when ſhe was " dreſſed; and leading her by the " hand into his cloſet, whither her " ſaid future ſpouſe had come be- " fore her, he ordered M. . the arch- " biſhop of Rouen, to marry them, " &c. and that it was his pleaſure " it ſhould be ſo. This the arch- " biſhop at firſt refuſed, alledging, " that the uſual ſolemnity ought " to have been obſerved therein. " To which the king very learned- " ly made anſwer, That his pre- " ſence ſupplied the want of all " other ſolemnity, and that his clo- " ſet was a conſecrated place."

1599. For example, the proteſtants, by one of the articles of the edict, were permitted to call and hold all ſorts of aſſemblies, convocations, &c. when and where they pleaſed, without aſking leave either of his majeſty or the magiſtrates; and likewiſe to admit in them all foreigners whatever, without acquainting any ſuperior tribunal: as alſo on their ſide, to be preſent, without licence, at the aſſemblies which were held amongſt the foreigners. It is very plain, that a point as abſolutely contrary to all the laws of the kingdom, as prejudicial to the authority of the king *, the right of the magiſtracy, and the utility and quiet of the people, could not have been obtained but by ſtratagem; and it was upon this point likewiſe that the enemies of the proteſtants inſiſted chiefly, in the ſeveral remonſtrances they made to the king, each alledging thoſe arguments in which they were moſt intereſted. The parliament remonſtrated, that this article compleated the ruin of their authority, which the clergy had already confined to ſuch narrow limits, as well as the king's (for it was pretended, that theſe two authorities were ſo cloſely connected that they could not be ſeparated) that if appeals againſt the irregular exertion of eccleſiaſtical authority ſhould be taken away, they would have only the ſhadow of any power. The clergy and the Sorbonne complained of the ſuperiority this conceſſion would give

* "This point, ſays le Septenaire, the marechal de Bouillon had managed with ſome perſons, who perhaps were not aware of the danger of it; but the ſieur Berthier, who was agent for the clergy, and biſhop of Rieux, diſputed it ſo warmly with the marechal, in the preſence of the king, that after hearing his reaſons, and in regard of the importance of the point itſelf, his majeſty ordered it to be erazed." Ann. 1599. p. 66. This account of M. Cayet's agrees with that of F. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 280, & ſeq. ſo that the article of the edict of Nantes, which was ſo warmly conteſted, being apparently the eighty-ſecond, is at preſent as diſadvantageous to the calviniſts, as it was formerly favourable to them; ſince it forbids them all cabals, negotiations, intelligences, aſſemblies, councils, leagues, aſſociations, either in or out of the kingdom, aſſeſſments and raiſing of money, &c. without his majeſty's expreſs permiſſion.

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the proteſtant over the catholic church in France, which had never been poſſeſſed of ſo large a power in its juriſdiction; and this was certainly true. Laſtly, they enumerated all the bad conſequences which this abſolute independence of the French huguenots might produce either amongſt themſelves, or their aſſociations with all the enemies of France in Europe. 1599.

The king had not yet examined the edict with care: all he knew of it was from a ſlight reading, in which he had, doubtleſs, glanced over this clauſe, or probably wholly omitted it. The ſurprize he diſcovered to thoſe who talked to him in that ſtrain, ſhewed he had been deceived; and he promiſed them to conſider it attentively, and give them an anſwer. When they left him, he immediately ſent for me, and ſhewing me the edict, I concealed from him none of the ſentiments I have delivered here: I added, that by too great zeal to make that article advantageous for the proteſtants, I thought he was doing them a miſchief, in that it would give large ſcope for all the ſlander that would be invented againſt the worthy men of the party, of their intriguing with foreigners againſt the ſtate, or of ſuffering themſelves to be ſuborned. Henry, ſtill more confirmed in his opinion, ſent me back with orders to prepare myſelf to ſupport all theſe motives in the aſſembly of the proteſtants, which he would have to be called immediately; while he, in the mean time, went to demand an explanation of the edict from thoſe who had drawn it up.

Meſſieurs De Schomberg, De Thou, Calignon, and Jeannin (for the king ſent directly for them all four) were greatly diſconcerted by the reproaches the king made them of having abuſed his confidence. Schomberg and De Thou, in the name of them all, replied, that they had been obliged to act in the manner they had done, by the threats of meſſieurs de Bouillon and de La-Tremouille, who declared, in the name of the whole party, that if

1599. this article was denied to them they would break all agreement, and even commence war againſt the catholics; which ſeemed to them of the utmoſt conſequence, the peace with Spain labouring at that time under great difficulties. The king contenting himſelf with this excuſe, ordered Berthier, ſyndic of the clergy, to report it to the aſſembly, and to add from him, that amongſt four perſons, to whom he had committed the care of drawing up the edict, there being no proteſtant but Calignon, he could not perſuade himſelf that the three others would have given the proteſtant religion ſuch an advantage over the catholic. The anſwer made by the biſhops ſhewed plainly, that they had not the ſame opinion of thoſe three gentlemen that his majeſty had; they were treated in full aſſembly as falſe catholics, who in many articles agreed with the proteſtants, and had no ſcruple about the reſt. Whilſt we condemn this ſecond imputation * as it deſerves to be, we ſtill allow, that with regard to the firſt, every thing made againſt the writers of the edict; and that their reply to his majeſty did not ſo effectually deſtroy the opinion that might be conceived of it, as the ſilence they obſerved in his preſence gave it ſtrength †.

The duke of Bouillon, however, had certainly thoſe ſentiments they attributed to him. By en-

* If a certain private converſation be true, which D'Aubigné makes the preſident De Thou to hold with the duke de la Tremouille, when he was ſent by his majeſty to the aſſembly of the calviniſts, the ſuſpicions of the clergy would not be ill founded: "You "have too much judgment, ſays "the preſident to him, not to "know very well, that conſider-"ing the point at which matters "now ſtand, and the conceſſions "we have already made you, the "demands which you may make "are not at their utmoſt height "... M. de Schomberg is a lu-"theran, and very far from being "a good calviniſt; as for my own "part, you ſhall know the inmoſt "thought of my heart." Tom. III. lib. v. ch. i. But it is very probable that D'Aubigné has related this converſation upon the credit of perſons not to be depended on, as alſo ſome other points of his hiſtory, which at that time drew an arret of parliament upon that work.

† M. de Sully's ſincerity in all this is ſo remarkable, that we cannot, in my opinion, ſufficiently admire it in a proteſtant.

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deavouring to come at the bottom of the affair, I learnt that he had in reality diſcovered an inſurmountable obſtinacy: but was there no other means to make the others more reaſonable? and then, what could he do by himſelf? If all the proteſtants were like the duke de Bouillon, what could the writers of the edict mean by this blind compliance with their inclinations? was the king and the realm to be betrayed for neceſſity? as nothing could be thought worſe than that by honeſt and ſkilful negotiators, they can hardly be charged with ſuch a notion. For my own part, I always thought Bouillon the ſole favourer of the project contained in that article, as he had been the author of it: he conſidered only himſelf, and diſregarded others. I will now ſhew the ultimate deſign of all his politics. 1599.

The duke of Bouillon, in order to terminate in his favour the diſpute for precedency between him and the dukes and peers of France; as well as the marechals that were more antient than him, formed a deſign to get his ſovereignty of Sedan * declared a fief of the empire. But this prerogative was not to deprive him of all communication with the proteſtant French lords, otherwiſe he would loſe more than he gained. The medium he thought upon to reconcile his intereſt with his ambition, was to have his church of Sedan comprehended in the proteſtant churches of France. This he did by means of the article in queſtion: mean time he would continue to make himſelf be treated as a foreign prince.

Berthier came back to the king, to give him an account of the diſpoſition in which he found the prelates of the aſſembly, together with the reſult of their deliberations; which was to take from the four perſons who drew up the edict all cognizance of the affairs of religion; and the diſputed article, and ſome others leſs eſſential, ſhould be mended; which his majeſty likewiſe promiſed.

* Conſult l' Hiſtoire du duc de Bouillon, which we have quoted ſeveral times already, liv. v.

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1599. Nevertheleſs, the aſſembly of the chief proteſtants then at Paris having been ſummoned the day after that in which this agreement betwixt the king and the commiſſaries was made, I received, as uſual, a note inviting me to be there. I had left off going to theſe aſſemblies, ever ſince I perceived that my preſence laid a reſtraint upon three or four of the leading men in it, and was good for nothing but to produce altercations. I deceived them, by preſenting myſelf at this. The duke of Bouillon eaſily comprehended the deſign which had brought me there thus contrary to my uſual cuſtom, and hinted as much with an ironical ſeverity; which I anſwered, by excuſing myſelf on account of the multiplicity of affairs that took up my time, and by feigning not to know the occaſion on which the preſent aſſembly was held. I gave no attention to the ſullen air which the duke de La-Tremouille aſſumed, nor the expreſſion he let fall to intimate, that he was not perſuaded of the truth of what I ſaid; but went and ſeated myſelf near meſſieurs de Mouy, de Clermont, and de Sainte-Marie-Du-Mont, who informed me of the buſineſs that was to be brought upon the carpet; aſſuring me, that the article which had made ſo much noiſe was diſapproved of by almoſt all the proteſtants; and that none but meſſieurs de Bouillon, de la-Tremouille, Du-Pleſſis, and ſome others of the cabal, inſiſted on it, in order to bring on a civil war. They could not obtain their point, notwithſtanding the tumults they had occaſioned, and the clamours they made in the aſſembly. When it came to the vote it was carried againſt them, the contrary opinion prevailed, and with reaſon, for the beſt arguments were on our ſide *.

* The edict of Nantes was at length verified on Thurſday the 25th of February this ſame year, after many difficulties ſtarted by the clergy, the univerſity, and parliament. It was upon this occaſion that Henry IV. told the biſhops; "You have exhorted me concerning my duty; let me now exhort you concerning yours: let us excite a mutual emulation in each other, which of us ſhall perform their parts the beſt. My predeceſſors gave you good

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They likewiſe agreed upon ſome qualifications with regard to two or three other articles, in which the public good did not ſeem to be ſufficiently conſidered. The juſtice and mildneſs of Henry's conduct was acknowledged by every one. After the affair was thus ſettled, he explained his motives to the greater number; and for the reſt, he thought only of hindering them from doing worſe. 1599.

He acted with the ſame prudence with reſpect to ſome diſaffected catholics, who being unwilling to appear openly themſelves, brought one Martha Broſſier, a pretended demoniac, in play, who was become the object of the people's curioſity, who are always ſtruck with the marvellous, whether true or falſe. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a matter ſo ridiculous in itſelf, and which was even below the conſideration of the mob, ſhould be talked on for a year and a half, and become an affair of ſtate: one half of the world ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled by every thing that ſeems to be ſupernatural, and others

"words; but I, with my grey "jacket on, will ſhew you good "deeds: though I am all grizzled "without, yet I am all gold with-"in: I will look into your pa-"pers, and anſwer them as fa-"vourably as I can." The following was the return he made to the parliament, when they came to make him remonſtrances; "You "ſee me in my cloſet, where I "come to ſpeak with you, not "in my royal robes, nor with my "ſword and other military habi-"liments on, as my predeceſſors "were wont, nor like a prince "who is to receive an ambaſſador, "but clad like the father of a fa-"mily, in his plain doublet, to "ſpeak familiarly with his chil-"dren; what I have to ſay to you "is, to intreat you would regiſter, "with the uſual ſolemnities, the "edict which I have granted to "thoſe of the calviniſt religion. "What I have done is for the ſake "of peace, which I have conclud-"ed with the neighbouring powers "around me, and would have the "ſame obſerved within my own "dominions." After he had told them the reaſons that induced him to make this edict, he added; "Such as would hinder my edict "from paſſing, are for war, which "I will to-morrow declare againſt "the proteſtants, but I will not "carry it on, I will ſend them to "it. I made the edict, and would "have it obſerved: my will ought "to be a ſufficient reaſon; for in "an obedient ſtate they never aſk "their prince any other. I am "king, I ſpeak to you as ſuch, and "I will be obeyed." Peref. ibid. and Journal d' Henry IV. ibid. See alſo in M. De Thou, and in le Septennaire, anno 1599, the ſeveral modifications which were added to the edict of Nantes, and all the conferences held on this occaſion.

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1599. are kept in awe, not by the thing itſelf, but by the motives upon which it is founded. Martha Broſſier met with many protectors among the clergy, even as far as Rome, whither ſhe took care to be carried. The king, without any extraordinary notice, allowed * both the time and means neceſſary to make itſelf known: after which, the whole trick ended in the general contempt of its authors and actreſs.

The death of a great many perſons of diſtinction afforded matter for other diſcourſe. The chancellor de Chiverny, Schomberg, and D'Incarville; all three members of the council of finances, dy-

* We have a very curious account of all that relates to this pretended demoniac in M. De Thou, at the beginning of book cxxiii. ann. 1599. an abſtract of which is as follows: One James Broſſier, a baker at Romorantin in Sologne, taking a diſlike to his own trade, turned conjurer, with a deſign to travel about the country with his three daughters, Martha, Silvina, and Mary; the eldeſt, who is the perſon ſpoken of here, had ſucceeded ſo well, by the inſtructions which her father had given her, to counterfeit a demoniac, that ſhe impoſed upon every body at Orleans and Cleri, except Charles Miron, biſhop of Angers, who found out the impoſture, by putting common water in the place of holy water, and holy in the place of common; by repeating a verſe from Virgil inſtead of the beginning of the exorciſm, and touching her with a key inſtead of his epiſcopal croſier. This did not hinder her from coming to Paris, where ſhe pitched upon the church of St. Genevieve for the ſcene on which to ſhew herſelf to the people, who flocked thither in great numbers. She impoſed upon all the credulous eccleſiaſtics, and upon the capuchins, who began to exorciſe her in good earneſt; and even upon ſome phyſicians whom Henry IV. had ſent to ſee her: though all the reſty depoſed formall againſt her, eſpecially Michael Mareſcot, one of the phyſicians, who publicly convicted her of not underſtanding Greek or Latin, and having no greater capacity than what is common to her ſex; and, in ſhort, of being an impoſtor and arrant cheat. But notwithſtanding all this, the eccleſiaſtics and preachers knew ſo well how to intereſt religion in this affair, and the pretended demoniac played her part ſo well, that the arret of parliament, that enjoined her, as alſo her father, to return home, how wiſe and reaſonable ſoever it was, occaſioned ſtrange murmurings, and almoſt a revolt in Paris: and this gave the king a deal of uneaſineſs, who ſaw, that what enemies he had remaining of the old league, did appear again on this occaſion. Alexander de La-Rochefoucaut, lord of Saint-Martin, and count de Randan, even undertook to revive this affair, by cauſing Martha to be ſent to Avignon, and thence to Rome, where ſhe gained ſtill more partiſans. But, unluckily for her, cardinal D'Oſſat was there, who employed himſelf ſo effectually in this affair, that at length Martha and all her family ſaw themſelves utterly abandoned; and they lived and died deſpiſed and quite miſerable. Conſult alſo the other hiſtorians.

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ing within a ſhort time of each other, occaſioned a great alteration of affairs: the ſeals were given to Bellievre; the office of comptroller-general, which D'Incarville had poſſeſſed, was, at my ſollicitation, granted to De Vienne; and that of ſuperintendant of the finances was reſtored in my favour. Henry having ſent for me to the garden of the Tuilleries, where he was walking, told me that he was reſolved to entruſt the care of the finances to one man only; and aſſuming a very ſerious manner, made me promiſe to give freely my opinion of that man, when he ſhould name him to me. Having aſſured him that I would, he ſmiled, and tapping my cheek, told me, that I had reaſon to know him well, ſince it was myſelf. His majeſty beſtowed on me likewiſe the poſt of ſurveyor of the highways, for which he ſent me the patents, together with thoſe of ſuperintendant of the fortifications. And Sancy, reſigning himſelf up to his uſual whims*, having thought proper to retire from the council, and to give up the office of overſeer of the works, the king added theſe employments likewiſe to the other favours he loaded me with. The appointments for the ſuperintendancy were ſettled at the rate of twenty thouſand livres; thoſe of ſurveyor of the highways, and of Paris in particular, were ten thouſand livres. 1599.

His majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with this method of fixing the rate of ſalaries, that he was likewiſe deſirous of regulating in the ſame manner the gratuities he propoſed to give me, as well, he ſaid, to prevent me from expecting a gratuity for every conſiderable ſervice I did him, as to ſpare himſelf the trouble of cauſing all the preſents he made me to be regiſtered, ſince without that, I would not receive any from him, however little their value was: he therefore declared to me, that all thoſe rewards

* Joſeph Scalliger ſpeaks, as well as our author, of M. de Sancy as a fanatic, and as very ſubject to enthuſiaſtic reveries.

and

1599. and preſents ſhould for the future be compriſed in one ſettled gratuity, which ſhould be paid me the beginning of every year, in the form of letters patents, regiſtered by the parliament; and aſked me beforehand if I was ſatisfied with the ſum, which was ſixty thouſand livres: adding, that it was his deſire, that with this money I ſhould purchaſe eſtates, which I ſhould be at liberty to diſpoſe of in favour of thoſe of my children who made themſelves moſt worthy of my affection, in order to keep them more firmly attached to me. This goodneſs of the king's merited my moſt grateful acknowledgments. However, this regulation which I have mentioned here was not made till the year 1600, and did not begin to take place till the year 1601.

Mademoiſelle de Bourbon * died likewiſe this year: and monſieur D'Eſpinac †, archbiſhop of Lyons, who may be ſaid to have taſted of all kinds of fortunes; then madam la Connetable; and after her madam de Beaufort: theſe two laſt deaths made a prodigious noiſe every where, and were attended with a great ſimilarity of very uncommon circumſtances; both were ſeized with a violent diſtemper, that laſted only three or four days; and both, though extremely beautiful, became horribly disfigured, which, together with ſome other ſymptoms, that at any other time would have been thought natural, or only the effects of poiſon, raiſed a report in the world, that the deaths of theſe two young ladies, as well as their elevation, was the work of the devil, who made them pay for that ſhort felicity he had procured them. And this was certainly believed, not only amongſt the people

* She was daughter to Henry I. the prince of Condé, by his firſt wife, the princeſs of Nevers, marchioneſs de L'Iſle, &c.

† Peter D'Eſpinac: he had been a great partiſan of the league: however, P. Matthieu aſſures, that he had done conſiderable ſervices to Henry IV. againſt Spain, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 308. where he gives an elogium of his virtues. M. De Thou, on the contrary, repreſents him, in book xc. as an inceſtuous and ſimoniacal perſon.

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generally credulous to a high degree of folly, but the courtiers themſelves: ſo prevalent at that time was the infection of trading in the occult ſciences, and ſo great was the hatred and envy to theſe two ladies, on account of the high rank they enjoyed. 1599.

This is what was related of the conſtable's * lady, and (as it is ſaid) by the ladies that were then at her houſe: She was converſing gayly with them in her cloſet, when one of her women entered in great terror, and told her that a certain perſon, who called himſelf a gentleman, and had indeed a good preſence, ſaving that he was quite black, and of a gigantic ſtature, had juſt entered her anti-chamber, and deſired to ſpeak to her about affairs of great conſequence, which he could not communicate to any but her. At every circumſtance relating to this extraordinary courier, which the woman was ordered to deſcribe minutely, the lady was ſeen to turn pale, and was ſo oppreſſed with grief, that ſhe could ſcarce tell her woman to entreat the gentleman, in her name, to defer his viſit to another time; to which he replied, in a tone that filled the meſſenger with horror, that ſince the lady would not come willingly, he would take the trouble to go and ſeek her in her cloſet. She, who was ſtill more afraid of a public than a private audience, reſolved at laſt to go to him, but with all the marks of a deep deſpair.

The terrible meſſage performed, ſhe returned to her company, bathed in tears, and half dead with diſmay; ſhe had only time to ſpeak a few words to take leave of them, particularly of three ladies who were her friends, and to aſſure them that ſhe ſhould never ſee them more. That inſtant ſhe was ſeized with exquiſite pains, and died at the end of three days, inſpiring all who ſaw her with horror at the frightful change of every feature in her face. Of this ſtory the wife thought as they ought to think.

* Louiſa de Budos, ſecond wife to Henry, Conſtable de Montmorency, was daughter to James de Budos, viſcount de Portes.

Madam

1599. Madam de Beaufort was the weakeſt of her ſex with regard to divination; ſhe made no ſecret of her conſulting with aſtrologers, and always had a great many of them about her, who never quitted her; and what is moſt ſurpriſing, although ſhe always, doubtleſs, paid them well, yet they never foretold her any thing but what was diſagreeable: one ſaid, that ſhe would never be married but once; another, that ſhe ſhould die young; a third, that ſhe ſhould take care of being with child; and a fourth, that ſhe ſhould be betrayed by one of her friends. Hence proceeded that melancholy which oppreſſed her, and which ſhe could never afterwards get rid of. Gracienne, one of her women, has ſince told me, that ſhe would retire from all company to paſs whole nights in grief, and in weeping on account of theſe predictions.

Being then far advanced in her pregnancy, many perſons will be at no loſs to gueſs the cauſe of that misfortune which attended it. She was already greatly indiſpoſed both in body and mind, when, at the latter end of Lent, ſhe was deſirous of making one of the party with the king at Fontainebleau: ſhe ſtaid there but a few days. The king, who was not willing to incur the cenſure of keeping this lady with him during the Eaſter holidays, intreated her to leave him to ſpend them at Fontainebleau, and to return herſelf to Paris *. Madam de Beaufort received this order with tears: it was ſtill worſe when they came to part; Henry, on his ſide, more paſſionately fond than ever of this lady, who had already brought him two ſons, and a daughter, named Henrietta, did himſelf equal violence. He conducted her half-way to Paris †; and although they propoſed only an abſence of a few days, yet they dreaded the moment of parting, as if it had

* According to P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 316. ſhe came to Paris, in order to have the articles of the purchaſe of Chateauneauf in Perche expedited.

† At Melun ſhe lay the day before, whence the king conducted her to the boat in which ſhe embarked to come down to the arſenal.

been

been for a much longer time. Thoſe who are inclined to give faith to preſages, will lay ſome ſtreſs upon this relation. The two lovers ſeveral times renewed their parting endearments, and in every thing they ſaid to each other at that moment, ſome people have pretended to find proofs of thoſe preſages of an inevitable fate. 1599.

Madam de Beaufort ſpoke to the king as if for the laſt time*; ſhe recommended to him her children, her houſe of Monceaux, and her domeſtics: the king liſtened to her, but, inſtead of comforting her, gave way to a ſympathiſing grief. Again they took leave of each other, and a ſecret emotion again drew them to each other's arms. Henry would not ſo eaſily have torn himſelf from her, if the marechal D'Ornano, Roquelaure, and Frontenac, had not taken him away by force. At length they prevailed upon him to return to Fontainebleau; and the laſt words he ſaid were, to recommend his miſtreſs to the conduct of La-Varenne, with orders to provide every thing ſhe wanted, and to conduct her ſafely to the houſe of Zamet, to whom he had choſen to confide the care of a perſon ſo dear to him.

I was at Paris when the ducheſs of Beaufort arrived there; and intending to go with my wife a few days after to receive the communion at Roſny, whither I carried the prince and princeſs of Orange, to whom I was deſirous of ſhewing the new buildings which the king's liberality had enabled me to raiſe there; I thought I was under a neceſſity of waiting upon this lady to take my leave of her. She no longer remembered any thing that had paſſed at Saint-Germain, but gave me a moſt obliging reception: not daring to explain herſelf clearly upon that compliance with her projects to which ſhe ſo ardently wiſhed to bring me, ſhe contented

* D'Aubigné ſpeaks in the ſame manner of this parting. tom. liv. v. ch. iii.

1599. herſelf with endeavouring to engage me in her intereſts, by mingling with thoſe civilities which ſhe ſhewed but to few perſons, words that carried a double ſenſe, and hinted to me a boundleſs grandeur, if I would relax a little of the ſeverity of my counſels to the king with regard to her. I, who was as little moved with the chimeras that filled her head, as with thoſe ſhe thought to inſpire me with, pretended not to underſtand any part of a diſcourſe ſo intelligible; and anſwered her in equivocal terms with general proteſtations of reſpect, attachment, and devotion; which ſignify what one will.

At my return home, I deſired my wife to pay the ſame compliment to the ducheſs: ſhe was received with equal tenderneſs: madam de Beaufort intreating her to love her, and to be with her as a friend, entered into confidences, that would have ſeemed the laſt inſtance of the moſt intimate friendſhip to thoſe who, like madam de Roſny, were ignorant that the ducheſs, who had no great ſhare of underſtanding, was not very delicate in the choice of her confidants: it was her higheſt pleaſure, to entertain any perſon ſhe firſt ſaw with her ſchemes and expectations; and the more thoſe ſhe converſed with were her inferiors, the leſs reſtraint ſhe laid on herſelf; for then ſhe no longer guarded her expreſſions, and often aſſumed the airs of a queen.

She had as little caution with reſpect to what really happened, as to what ſhe was in expectation would happen; too much ſimplicity on ſuch occaſions gave riſe probably to thoſe reports which were ſpread in the world concerning ſome irregularities in her conduct when ſhe was very young. Theſe cenſures, however, appeared to me to be the mere effect of the malice of her enemies; for it could not be imagined that a woman would carry her imprudence and folly ſo far as to ſay both good and ill of herſelf indifferently; and I never thought I had any reaſon to reproach myſelf with having, for ſix years, confined a woman named La Rouſe, who was

was one of her ſervants, and her huſband, in the Baſtile, who, after the death of this lady, continued to load her memory with the utmoſt infamy: for although all they ſaid had been true, yet the reſpect that was due to her family, and ſtill more to the tenderneſs the king had for her and the children ſhe brought him, ought to have ſilenced their ſlanders. 1599.

Madam De Roſny could not help being ſurpriſed at the ducheſs's diſcourſe, and was ſtill more ſo, when this lady making an aukward aſſemblage of the civilities which are practiſed between equals, and theſe airs of a queen, told her ſhe might come to her *coucher* and *lever* whenever ſhe pleaſed; and many other ſpeeches of the ſame kind. My wife, as well as every one elſe, concluded there would be a great change in the ducheſs's fortune, and returned home full of theſe reflections, which ſhe communicated to me. I had not even diſcloſed to my wife what had paſſed between the king and me upon this ſubject, as well as the ſcene of St. Germain: I promiſed her to acquaint her with the true ſtate of things, provided ſhe would not tell the princeſs of Orange what madam de Beaufort had ſaid to her; and we ſet out together for Roſny.

Two days after, which was the Saturday before Eaſter, as I was performing my promiſe to madam de Roſny, and acquainting her with the ducheſs's deſign to get herſelf declared queen, all the practices of her relations and dependants for that purpoſe, the ſtruggles the king had in his own mind, and the reſolution he had at length taken to overcome himſelf, adding ſome reflections upon the calamities which a contrary conduct would bring upon the kingdom, I heard the bell of the firſt gate of the caſtle without the moat ring; and none of my ſervants anſwering, as it was yet ſcarcely day, the bell was rung with more violence, and a voice ſeveral times repeated, *I come from the king*. Immediately I wakened a footman, and while he went to

1599. open the gate, I ſlipped on a night-gown, and ran down ſtairs, greatly alarmed at being ſent to ſo early in the morning.

The courier ſaid that he had travelled all night to tell me that the king deſired I would come inſtantly to Fontainbleau: his countenance had ſo deep a concern on it, that I aſked him if the king was ill? "No," he replied, "but he is in the utmoſt af-"fliction: madam the ducheſs is dead." The news appeared to me ſo improbable that I made him repeat it ſeveral times; and when convinced that it was true, I felt my mind divided between my grief for the condition to which her death reduced the king, and my joy for the advantage all France would gain by it, which was increaſed by my being fully perſuaded in my own mind, that the king, by this tranſitory ſorrow, would purchaſe a releaſe from a thouſand anxieties, and much more anguiſh of heart than what he now actually ſuffered. I went up again to my wife's chamber full of theſe reflexions, "You will neither go to the ducheſs's *coucher* "nor *lever*," ſaid I, "for ſhe is dead." I brought the courier up with me, that while I dreſt, and he breakfaſted, he might inform us of all the circumſtances of this great event, which was ſtill better related in the letter La Varenne had written from Paris to the king, and which his majeſty ſent me by the courier, together with a ſecond from La Varenne, directed to myſelf.

Zamet * had received his gueſt with all the aſſiduity of a courtier who is ſolicitous to pleaſe, and neglected nothing which he thought might contribute to make her paſs the time agreeably. On Maundy-Thurſday madam de Beaufort, after din-

* Sebaſtian Zamet, a rich private gentleman, was an Italian and a native of Lucca: but he got himſelf naturalized in 1581, together with his two brothers Horace and John Antony. He deſired the notary who drew up his daughter's contract of marriage, to ſtyle him lord of ſeventeen hundred thouſand crowns. Henry IV. had pitched on his houſe for his meals and parties of pleaſure: this prince beſides loved him becauſe he was a facetious and merry man.

ner, where ſhe had eaten of the greateſt delicacies, and all prepared to her taſte, had an inclination to hear the evening ſervice at St Anthony's the leſs: ſhe was there ſeized with fainting fits, which obliged her to be carried back immediately to Zamet's. As ſoon as ſhe arrived ſhe went into the garden and was immediately attacked with an apoplectic fit, which it was expected would have inſtantly ſtifled her. She recovered a little, through the aſſiſtance they gave her; and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a notion that ſhe was poiſoned *, commanded them to carry her from that houſe to madam de Sourdis her aunt, who lived in the cloiſter Saint-Germain. 1599.

Scarce had they time to put her in bed when thick ſucceeding convulſions, ſo dreadful as amazed all that were preſent, and in a word all the ſymptoms of approaching death, left Varenne, who had taken up the pen to write the king word of the accident that had happened, nothing elſe to ſay but that the phyſicians all deſpaired of his miſtreſs's life, by the nature of her diſtemper, which required the moſt violent remedies, and the circumſtance of her being far gone with child, which made all applications mortal †. Scarce had he ſent away the letter when madam de Beaufort drawing near her laſt moments, was ſeized with new convulſions which turned her black, and disfigured her ſo horribly that La Varenne, not doubting but the king, upon the receipt of his letter, would ſet out immediately to ſee his

* D'Aubigné gives us to underſtand this, when he ſays, that after ſhe had refreſhed herſelf with Zamet, by eating a large citron, or, according to others, a ſallad, "ſhe "immediately felt ſuch an inflam- "mation in her throat, and ſuch "violent twitchings in her ſto- "mach, that, &c." But neither De Thou, Baſſompierre, Le Septenaire, nor any other hiſtorian, imputes her diſorder to poiſon. Le Grain aſcribes it to the crude and cold juice of the citron. Sauval ſays, that he knew ſome old men who remembered to have ſeen the ducheſs lie in ſtate in the nunnery of Saint Germain.

† "The phyſician La Riviere, "came in great haſte upon this "occaſion, ſays D'Aubigné, with "others of the king's phyſicians, "and entering but three ſteps into "her chamber, when he ſaw the "extraordinary condition ſhe was "in, went away ſaying to his bro- "ther phyſicians, This is the hand "of God." Tom. III. liv. v. c. 3.

1599. miſtreſs, thought it better to ſend him word in a ſecond billet that ſhe was dead, than to expoſe him to a ſpectacle at once ſo dreadful and afflicting as that of a woman whom he tenderly loved, expiring in agitations, ſtruggles, and agonies, that left hardly any thing of human in her figure.

La Varenne, in the letter he ſent me by the ſame courier, informed me that the ducheſs was not dead, but by what he could judge had not an hour to live*; in effect ſhe expired a few moments after, in a general ſubverſion of all the functions of nature capable of inſpiring horror and diſmay. The king, who upon the receipt of La Varenne's firſt letter, had not failed to mount his horſe immediately, received the ſecond when he was got half way to Paris, and liſtening to nothing but the exceſs of his paſſion, was reſolved, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid to him, to give himſelf the conſolation of ſeeing his miſtreſs † once more, dead as he believed her to be. The

* Saturday morning, the convulſions had writhed her mouth to the back of her neck. Her body was opened, in which a dead child was found. See concerning this death, M. de Thou. liv. cxxii. Matthieu, ibid. Le Grain, liv. yii. Le Septennaire, ann. 1599. Mem. de Baſſompierre. De Thou, Matthieu, and Baſſompierre, place her death a day ſooner.

† According to Baſſompierre, who ſpeaks of it as being an eye-witneſs, Henry did not believe that his miſtreſs was yet dead. He ſays that La Varenne having come to acquaint the marechal d'Ornano and him, who had accompanied the ducheſs to Paris, that ſhe was juſt dead, they both took horſe in order to bring the melancholy news to the king and keep him from coming to Paris. "We found," ſays he, "the king on the other "ſide of La Sauſſaye, near Vile-"juif, coming on poſt horſes with "all expedition. As ſoon as he "ſaw the marechal, he ſuſpected "that he came to bring him the "news, which as ſoon as he heard "he made great lamentation for "her. At length they prevailed "with him to go into the abbey La "Sauſſaye, where they laid him "upon a bed: when at laſt a coach "coming from Paris, they put him "into it, in order to return to Fon-"tainebleau." Mem. de Baſſompierre, tom. I. p. 69. & ſeq. Le Grain adds, that he fainted away in his coach between the arms of the grand ecuyer or maſter of the horſe.

Without attempting in any reſpect to juſtify the exceſſive fondneſs Henry IV. had for this woman, juſtice however obliges us to obſerve here, that this attachment was no leſs founded on the good qualities of her heart and mind than the beauty of her perſon, and that only the antipathy which is commonly borne towards ſuch as are in the ſame condition, makes people ſay all the ill of her that we ſee related in theſe Memoirs and in the other hiſtorians. I will conclude this article with what D'Aubigné ſays, who is a writer that is natu-

ſame

ſame perſons that had carried him back the firſt time to Fontainebleau, prevailed upon him by their arguments and intreaties to go back once more, and it was from this place that he diſpatched the courier to me. 1599.

I did not loſe a moment. I breakfaſted at Poiſſy, and dined at Paris. I made uſe of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow's coach to carry me as far as Eſſonne, from whence I took poſt, and at night got to Fontainebleau. I went immediately to the king, who was walking in a gallery ſunk in an exceſs of grief that made all company inſupportable: he told me that, although he expected the ſight of me would at firſt increaſe his affliction, as in effect it did, yet he was ſenſible that in the condition, to which the loſs he had ſuffered had reduced him, he had ſo much need of conſolation, that he did not heſitate a moment to ſend for me to receive the aſſiſtance I only could give him.

With a prince equally ſenſible of what he owed to religious and political duties, I was not at a loſs for ſources from whence to derive arguments to calm his ſorrow. I recalled to his remembrance ſome of thoſe paſſages in the holy ſcriptures, wherein God as a father and maſter requires that confidence and perfect reſignation, the effect of which is to inſpire a Chri-

rally more inclined to blame than to commend. "It is a wonder," ſays he, "how this woman, whoſe "great beauty had nothing of the "looſe turn in it, could have lived "rather like a queen than a miſ-"treſs for ſo many years, and that "with ſo few enemies. The ne-"ceſſities of ſtate were the only "enemies ſhe had to encounter." He had ſaid before, that ſhe uſed with great moderation her power over the king: and P. Matthieu adds, to the good qualities which he remarks in this lady, that of having often given very good counſel to Henry IV. ibid. "She would "not ſuffer any other perſon near "her," ſays Le Grain alſo, liv. viii. "though the ſieur de Lian-"court was a man of great merit "and of a very honourable family; "inſomuch that this marriage was "diſſolved before it was conſum-"mated." Some accounts of that time ſpeak of Nicholas d'Amerval, ſieur de Liancourt, as a perſon of a truly diſtinguiſhed birth and of a very plentiful fortune; but whoſe mind, ſay they, was as badly formed as his body. Mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées married him only to get rid of the tyrannical treatment ſhe received from her father, and becauſe the king promiſed her that he would hinder the conſummation of the marriage, and even diſſolve it; which he actually did.

1599. ſtian with a contempt for all ſublunary things; to which I added ſuch as might incite to the acknowledgments and adoration of divine Providence as well in deep misfortunes as unexpected ſucceſs. I made no ſcruple to repreſent to Henry, that the accident which now gave him all this affliction, was among the number of thoſe which he would one day look upon as moſt fortunate. I endeavoured to place him in imagination in that painful, and (if his miſtreſs had lived) unavoidable ſituation, when, on one ſide ſtruggling with the force of a tender and violent paſſion, and on the other with the ſilent convictions of what honour and duty required of him, he would be under an abſolute neceſſity of coming to ſome reſolution, with regard to an engagement, which he could not break without torture, or preſerve without infamy. Heaven, I told him, came to his aſſiſtance by a ſtroke painful indeed, but which could only open the way to a marriage, upon which depended the tranquility of France, the happineſs of his people, the fate of Europe, and his own good, to whom the bleſſing of a lawful union would always appear too dearly purchaſed, by the deſertion of a woman, who, by a thouſand good qualities, was worthy of his affection.

I eaſily perceived that this laſt argument, inforced in a manner advantageous to his miſtreſs, made an impreſſion upon Henry's heart, by the ſoothing pleaſure it gave him to hear his choice approved of. He confeſſed to me, that it was ſome relief to him to find me placing his attachment for the ducheſs of Beaufort among the number of thoſe that are formed by a real ſympathy of minds, and not on mere libertiniſm; and that he had been apprehenſive I would have no otherways endeavoured to comfort him, than by rendering him aſhamed of his paſſion for her. This firſt converſation was very long. I do not remember every thing I ſaid to the king. All I know is that, after having firſt applied thoſe gentle ſoothings that affliction demands, the continuance of

of which I oppoſed by arguments drawn from the neceſſity all princes and perſons in any public character are under, of preſerving, even in the moſt reaſonable ſorrows, that freedom of mind requiſite for affairs of ſtate; Henry had not the weakneſs of reſigning himſelf up to grief through obſtinacy *, or of ſeeking a cure in inſenſibility. He liſtened more to the dictates of his reaſon than his paſſion, and already appeared much leſs afflicted to thoſe perſons who entered his chamber. At length every one being careful not to renew his grief, which his daily employments gradually diminiſhed, he found himſelf in that ſtate in which all wiſe men ought to be who have had great ſubjects of affliction, that is, neither condemning, nor flattering the cauſe, nor affecting either to recall or baniſh the remembrance of it. 1599.

Joyeuſe likewiſe employed the public attention, having from a ſoldier and a courtier † become a capuchin, and afterwards from a capuchin become again a ſoldier and a courtier, he reſumed his inclination for the frock, which it was pretended the pope had only during the war granted him a diſpenſation for quitting; and this time he wore it till his death.

* Henry IV. made all the court go into mourning for the death of the ducheſs of Beaufort. He himſelf was dreſſed in black forthe firſt eight days, and afterwards in violet. Mem. de Chiverny.

† Henry de Joyeuſe, count de Bouchage, and youngeſt brother to the duke de Joyeuſe, was ſlain at Coutras. "One day at four in the "morning as he was paſſing thro' "the ſtreets of Paris near the con-"vent of the capuchins, after he "had ſpent the night in a debauch, "he imagined that he heard an-"gels ſinging the matins in the "convent: at which being much "affected, he immediately turned "capuchin under the name of Fre-"re-Ange. Afterwards he quitted "the frock and carried arms a-"gainſt Henry IV. at which time "the duke de Maine made him "governor of Languedoc, a duke, "peer, and marechal of France. "At laſt he made his peace with "the king: but one day this prince "being with him on a balcony, "under which was a great num-"ber of people aſſembled together, "Couſin, ſays Henry IV. to him, "this multitude ſeem to me to be "very contented and eaſy at ſee-"ing together an apoſtate and a "renegado. This ſaying of the "king's made ſuch an impreſſion "on Joyeuſe that he entered again "into his convent, where he died." This anecdote is taken from the notes on the Henriade.

The

1599. The marriage of his daughter *, the ſole heireſs of the family of Joyeuſe, with the duke of Montpenſier, was the laſt action of his public life. The marchioneſs de Belliſle †, after his example, took the habit of a nun, of the order of Saint Barnard.

* Henrietta Catherine de Joyeuſe. There did not ſurvive of this marriage but one daughter, whereby the branch of Bourbon Montpenſier became extinct.

† Antonietta d'Orleans-de-Longueville was the widow of Charles de Gondy marquis of Belliſle, and eldeſt ſon of the marechal de Retz. Mezeray informs us that the reaſon of her retiring, was the mortification ſhe had received by not being able to revenge the death of her huſband; a ſoldier whom ſhe had employed for this purpoſe having been taken and hanged; for ſhe could not obtain his pardon of the king. The marquis de Belliſle had been killed in 1596 at Mount-Saint-Michel, by a gentleman of Bretagne, called Kermartin. L'Etoile ſpeaks of her as a woman who was much admired by all the court on account of her beauty and underſtanding, and as an eminent example of devotion and penitence in her convent.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XI.

THE time ſettled for the agreement about the marquiſate of Saluces, of which the terms were referred to the pope, had elapſed without any deciſion by his holineſs, becauſe the duke of Savoy, who knew better than any other perſon that it could not be favourable for him, had, to* elude the ſentence, made uſe of all thoſe arts that were generally practiſed in this little court, whoſe policy it was, when its ſafety or advantage was in queſtion, to employ cunning, treachery, ſubmiſſion, and the appearance of the ſtrongeſt attachments. The firſt thought that preſented itſelf to the duke of Savoy's mind was, to revoke an agreement which had only been made to gain time, or with a hope that France would embroil itſelf with the holy ſee: but as this proceeding ſeemed too diſingenuous, he had recourſe to another artifice to make the pope voluntarily reſign the arbitration: he appriſed his ambaſſador at Rome, that he had certain intelligence from France and Italy that Clement VIII. had ſuf- 1599.

* This marquiſate was a transferrable fief of Dauphiné, to which the houſe of Savoy had no right.

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1599. fered himſelf to be gained by the king, on a private condition, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould engage to yield afterwards to the pope himſelf all his claims upon the marquiſate of Saluces. The ambaſſador, who was firſt impoſed upon by his maſter, explained himſelf in ſuch a manner upon this colluſion, that his holineſs, who had only accepted of the arbitration for the advantage of both parties, reſigned it with indignation.

The duke of Savoy, who had not doubted but that the pope would act in this manner, gave the king, however, to underſtand, that he would rely entirely upon him, without having recourſe to any foreign arbitration upon the diſpute. He thought, by piquing this prince upon his honour, to obtain that which was the ſubject of their conteſt, which he took care to have repreſented to him, as a thing of ſuch ſmall value, that it could not merit the attention of ſo great a king. And it was with theſe inſtructions that the ſieurs de Jacob, de La-Rochette, de Lullins, de Bretons, and de Roncas, the duke of Savoy's agents, came to Paris.

With views of this nature the miniſter and the confident of the prince is commonly the perſon whom they begin to engage in their intereſt, or (to be plainer) whom they endeavour to corrupt; and if he ſhould not appear very virtuous, do not even conceal from him the deſign with which they come, and in their diſcourſe make no longer any uſe of that caution which is obſerved in a congreſs. Theſe gentlemen therefore told me, that their maſter did not pretend to hold the marquiſate of Saluces of his majeſty any otherwiſe than as a meer gift of his munificence; and at the ſame time inſinuated to me plainly enough, that this preſent would produce from the duke of Savoy advantages for me proportionable to the importance of the requeſt, and my ſolicitude to ſecure its ſucceſs. I would not ſeem to underſtand theſe laſt words; and with regard to the firſt, I told the agents drily, that finee, as they well knew,

no

no one could beſtow upon another what was not immediately in his own poſſeſſion, it was neceſſary the duke of Savoy ſhould firſt begin by reſigning all claim to the marquiſate of Saluces; and that then his majeſty, who I aſſured them had no leſs greatneſs of mind than his highneſs, would uſe his power royally. And I very earneſtly intreated them to addreſs themſelves directly to the king: which they did, diſcouraged with the manner I ſpoke to them. Henry treated them with great civility, but appeared ſo reſolute upon every thing that regarded that ſtate, that after ſeveral uſeleſs attempts, they laid aſide all thoughts of ſucceeding this way. 1599.

Finding all France, and the court itſelf, filled with malecontents and mutinous perſons, they imagined that by puſhing them on to ſome violent reſolution, they might give Henry ſufficient employment within his kingdom, to make him loſe ſight of all that paſſed without. The duke of Savoy's preſence appeared to them abſolutely neceſſary to engage more cloſely thoſe lords who liſtened to their ſuggeſtions, and they wrote to him, that his intereſt required that he ſhould take a journey to Paris. This project was perfectly ſuited to the duke's character*: he conſented to it, and ordered them to demand his majeſty's leave for that purpoſe; which the king would have denied, if he could have done it with any appearance of reaſon. But the duke of Savoy had deprived him of the leaſt pretence, by proteſting, that he undertook this journey, in order that he might himſelf treat with his majeſty; or rather, that he came to ſubmit entirely to the king's will. This declaration he accompanied with ſo many complaints againſt Spain, that he ſeemed to be upon the point of coming to an open rupture with that crown; and that henceforward he would place all his hopes of ſecurity on an union with France. He had a ſhort

* It is ſaid, that this prince, during his reſidence at the court of France, one day let fall the following words, "I am not come into "this kingdom to reap, but to ſow."

time

1599. time before refuſed an advantageous propoſal made him by the king of Spain, to ſend his ſon and his eldeſt daughter to the court of Madrid, to appear there as princes of the blood-royal of Spain.

By this ſtep of the duke of Savoy, the pope was fully determined to concern himſelf no further with the affair of Saluces: but nothing could make the king neglect two things, which from the very firſt appeared to him abſolutely neceſſary; namely, to give up no part of that ſatisfaction which was due to him by the duke, and to diſcover all his tranſactions with the malecontents of his court.

Among theſe the king always gave marechal Biron the firſt rank. His majeſty knew, that during the ſtay this marechal made in Guienne, he had ſolicited the nobility of that province to engage in his intereſts; and that at his own table he had had ſuch converſations with them, as proved him to be an enemy to the royal authority. All this might have been attributed to the pride and inſolence of his diſpoſition; but what gave moſt weight to this behaviour was, that his intrigues at the court of Savoy, although carried on with all poſſible caution, came at the ſame time to his majeſty's knowledge. And the journey the king took this year to Blois, had in reality no other motive than to diſconcert the projects of Biron, and to retain the people in their duty; but in public, the king talked of it as a party of pleaſure, to paſs the ſummer in that agreeable climate, and to eat, he ſaid, ſome of the excellent melons there. His removal from Paris likewiſe, in the ſtate things then were, was a matter of indifference.

I attended his majeſty, whoſe ſtay at Blois produced nothing of conſequence enough to be mentioned: he paſſed his time there in the employment I have already mentioned, and in endeavouring to procure the ſo earneſtly deſired diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois. As long as the ducheſs of Beaufort lived, no one was ſolicitous to preſs Henry to a divorce, either becauſe they apprehended

hended that their endeavours would turn to the advantage of his miſtreſs, who was univerſally hated, or that they did not care to expoſe themſelves to the rage of this woman; who was always to be feared, even though her deſigns ſhould not ſucceed: but as ſoon as ſhe was dead, there was a general combination of the parliament, all the other bodies, and the people, to ſolicit him on this ſubject. The procurer-general came to his majeſty, and intreated him to give his ſubjects this ſatisfaction. The king, though he was not determined upon his choice, promiſed, however, to yield to the deſires of his people. 1599.

I now reſumed my correſpondence with queen Margaret with more ardour than before: I had taken no pains to remove the obſtacle which this princeſs made, on madam de Beaufort's account, to the conſent that was required of her; for I looked upon it as a reſource to which, probably, every one muſt have applied; and it was this only that could have reſtrained the court of Rome, if the king had ſuffered himſelf at laſt to be gained by his miſtreſs: beſides, the compliance I obſerved in Margaret aſſured me that ſhe did not make it a pretence for an abſolute refuſal. I was confirmed in this opinion by the anſwer ſhe wrote me from Uſſon, to a letter I had juſt ſent her, in which I mentioned the ſacrifice that was expected from her, in very reſpectful but in very clear terms, as ſuch negotiations require. Margaret, on her ſide, to ſhew that ſhe perfectly underſtood what was to be done, explained herſelf abſolutely upon the bill of divorce, annexing to it ſuch reaſonable conditions as took away all difficulty for the future; ſhe only deſired a decent penſion might be aſſigned her, and that her debts might be paid; appointing a man to conclude this affair, either with the king, or with me, who, though firmly attached to her, could not be ſuſpected: this was Langlois, who had ſerved his majeſty ſo faithfully in the reduction of the city of Paris, and had been rewarded for it with the poſt of maſter of the requeſts.

1599. queſts. It was not eaſy to find a man who was more capable of buſineſs: he brought his majeſty an anſwer from Margaret*; for the king thought he likewiſe was under a neceſſity of writing to her. which he did with equal goodneſs and complaiſance, but in terms far leſs explicit than I had done. With the letters, Langlois brought a ſtate of this princeſs's demands, which were immediately granted. To render the thing more firm, Langlois undertook to make her write to the pope in terms that gave his holineſs to underſtand, that ſhe was far from being conſtrained to this act; that ſhe had the ſame ſolicitude for the concluſion of this affair as all France had. D'Oſſat, provided with a writing of the ſame kind, found no more obſtacles: he was ſeconded by Sillery, who endeavoured to efface the ſcandal of his firſt commiſſion. The holy father uſed no more delays in granting the favour that was demanded of him, than what decency and ceremony required; and did not ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by ſuggeſtions of envious perſons, a deteſtable ſort of men who are to be found in every place. He appointed the biſhop of Modena, his nephew and nuncio, to put the finiſhing hand to this affair, which could be only done in France; aſſociating with him two commiſſioners of that nation, the archbiſhop of † Arles, and the cardinal de Joyeuſe: the courſe they were to take, was to declare the parties free from all engagements, by the nullity of their marriage.

* See theſe two letters of Henry IV. to Margaret de Valois, and of Margaret's to Henry, in the New collection des lettres du Henry le Grand.

† Horace del Monte, the archbiſhop of Arles, and Francis de Joyeuſe, the ſecond ſon of William de Joyeuſe. Theſe three commiſſaries having met in the palace of Henry de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, after maturely examining the reaſons alledged on both ſides, declared the marriage void, by reaſon of conſanguity, different religion, ſpiritual affinity, compulſion, and for want of the conſent of one of the parties: for Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois were related in the third degree; the mother of Jane d'Albert, who alſo was called Margaret, being the ſiſter of Francis I. See the hiſtory and pieces concerning this divorce in Mathieu, tom. II. b. ii. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599.

While

While this affair was haſtening towards a concluſion, Henry returned to Fontainebleau; and giving great part of his time to diverſions, and the pleaſures of the table, heard mademoiſelle d'Entragues * often mentioned. The courtiers, eager to flatter his inclination for the fair, ſpoke ſo advantageouſly of the beauty, wit, and ſprightlineſs of this young lady, that the king had a deſire to ſee her, and became immediately paſſionately enamoured of her. Who could have foreſeen the uneaſineſs this new paſſion was to give him! but it was Henry's fate, that the ſame weakneſs which obſcured his glory, ſhould likewiſe deſtroy the tranquillity of his life. 1599.

The lady was no novice: although ſenſible of the pleaſure of being beloved by a great king, yet ambition was her predominant paſſion; and ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe might make ſo good uſe of her charms, as to oblige her lover to become her huſband. She did not therefore ſeem in haſte to yield to his deſires; pride, chaſtity, and intereſt, were employed in their turns; ſhe demanded no leſs than one hundred thouſand crowns for the price of her favours. And perceiving that ſhe had only increaſed Henry's paſſion by an obſtacle, in my opinion, much more likely to cool it, ſince his majeſty was obliged to tear this ſum from me by violence, ſhe no longer deſpaired of any thing, and had recourſe to other artifices; ſhe alledged the reſtraint her relations † kept her in, and

* Catherine Henrietta, daughter to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, Marcouſſy, and de Maleſherbes, by Mary Touchet, miſtreſs to Charles IX. whom he married for his ſecond wife. The writings of thoſe times repreſent her as not ſo beautiful, though younger, than the fair Gabrielle, and ſtill more gay, ambitious, and enterprizing. This ſketch, which correſponds with what the duke de Sully ſays here, will be very much confirmed in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs.

† This fear was not entirely without foundation. If we may believe the marechal de Baſſompierre, in his Memoirs, her mother was indeed very condeſcending in this affair; and it was even ſhe that drew the king to Maleſherbes, a houſe where ſhe lived: but her father was not ſo complying, any more than the count d'Auvergne, half-brother by the mother to the lady. They wanted to pick a quarrel with the count de Lude, whom Henry IV. employed upon this occaſion; and they carried the lady to Marcouſſis, where the king nevertheleſs went to ſee her. Tom. I.

1599. the fear of their reſentment. The prince endeavoured to remove all theſe ſcruples, but could not ſatisfy the lady, who taking a favourable opportunity, at length declared, that ſhe would never grant him any thing, unleſs he would give her a promiſe, under his hand, to marry her in a year's time. It was not upon her own account, ſhe ſaid (accompanying this ſtrange requeſt with an air of modeſty, with which ſhe well knew how to enflame the king) that ſhe aſked for this promiſe, to her a verbal one had been ſufficient, or, indeed, ſhe would have required none of any kind, being ſenſible that her birth did not allow her to pretend to that honour, but that ſhe would have occaſion for ſuch a writing, to ſerve as an excuſe for her fault to her relations; and obſerving that the king ſtill heſitated, ſhe had the addreſs to hint, that in reality ſhe ſhould look upon this promiſe as of very little conſequence, knowing well the king was not to be ſummoned to a court of juſtice like one of his common ſubjects.

What a ſtriking example of the tyranny of love! Henry was not ſo dull but that he plainly perceived this girl endeavoured to deceive him: not to mention likewiſe thoſe reaſons he had to believe her far from being a veſtal, or thoſe intrigues againſt the ſtate of which her father, mother, her brother, and even herſelf, had been convicted, and had drawn upon this family an order to leave Paris, which I had ſo lately ſignified to them from his majeſty; notwithſtanding all this, the king was weak enough to comply with his miſtreſs's deſires, and promiſed to grant her requeſt.

One morning, when he was preparing to go to the chace, he called me into the gallery at Fontainebleau, and put this ſhameful paper into my hands. It is a piece of juſtice, which I am ſo much the more obliged to do Henry, as the reader muſt perceive that I do not endeavour to palliate his faults, to acknowledge that, in the greateſt exceſſes to which he was hurried by his paſſions, he always ſubmitted

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to a candid confeſſion of them, and to conſult with thoſe perſons whom he knew were moſt likely to oppoſe his deſigns. This is an inſtance of rectitude and greatneſs of ſoul, rarely to be found amongſt princes. While I was reading this paper, every word of which was like the ſtab of a poignard, Henry ſometimes turned aſide to conceal his confuſion, and ſometimes endeavoured to gain over his confidant by condemning and excuſing himſelf by turns; but my thoughts were wholly employed upon the fatal writing. The clauſe of marrying a miſtreſs, provided ſhe bore him a ſon in the ſpace of a year (for it was conceived in theſe terms) appeared indeed ridiculous, and plainly of no effect; but nothing could relieve my anxiety, on account of the ſhame and contempt the king muſt neceſſarily incur, by a promiſe which, ſooner or later, would infallibly make a dreadful confuſion. I was alſo afraid of the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep in the preſent conjuncture whilſt the divorce was depending; and this thought rendered me ſilent and motionleſs. 1599.

Henry, ſeeing that I returned him the paper coldly, but with a viſible agitation of mind, ſaid to me, "Come, come, ſpeak freely, and do not aſſume "all this reſerve." I could not immediately find words to expreſs my thoughts, nor need I here aſſign reaſons for my perplexity, which may be eaſily imagined by thoſe who know what it is to be the confidant of a king, on occaſions when there is a neceſſity of combating his reſolution, which is always abſolute and unalterable. The king again aſſured me, that I might ſay and do what I pleaſed without offending him; which was but a juſt amends, he ſaid, for having forced from me three hundred thouſand livres. I obliged him to repeat this aſſurance ſeveral times, and even to ſeal it with a kind of oath; and then no longer heſitating to diſcover my opinion, I took the paper out of the king's hands and tore it to pieces, without ſaying a word. "How!" ſaid Henry, aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of this action.

1599. "*Morbieu!* what do you mean to do? I think you "are mad." I am mad, I acknowledge, ſire, replied I, and would to God I was the only madman in France. My reſolution was taken, and I was prepared to ſuffer every thing rather than, by a pernicious deference and reſpect, to betray my duty and veracity; therefore, notwithſtanding the rage I ſaw that inſtant impreſſed on the king's countenance, while he collected together out of my hands the torn pieces of the writing, to ſerve as a model for another, I took advantage of that interval to repreſent to him, in a forcible manner, all that the ſubject may be imagined to ſuggeſt to me. The king, angry as he was, liſtened till I had done ſpeaking, but, overcome by his paſſion, nothing was capable of altering his reſolution; the only effort he made was not to baniſh from his preſence a confidant too ſincere. He went out of the gallery without ſaying a ſingle word to me, and returned to his cloſet, whither he ordered Lomenie to bring him a ſtandiſh and paper; he came out again in half a quarter of an hour, which he had employed in writing a new promiſe. I was at the foot of the ſtaircaſe when he deſcended; he paſſed by without ſeeming to ſee me, and went to Maleſherbes to hunt, where he ſtaid two days.

I was of opinion that this incident ought to put no ſtop to the affair of the divorce, nor hinder another wife from being ſought for for the king, but rather that it ſhould haſten both: his majeſty's agents at Rome made therefore the firſt overture of a marriage between Henry and the princeſs Mary of Medicis *, daughter to the grand duke of Florence. The king ſuffered us to proceed in this buſineſs, and, by the force of repeated importunities, even

* Mary de Medicis, daughter to Francis grand duke of Tuſcany, by the arch-ducheſs Jane of Auſtria, daughter to the emperor Ferdinand. She had for her portion ſix hundred thouſand crowns, beſides rings and jewels. La Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600, p. 121. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 336, give an account of the negotiations of d'Oſſat and de Sillery, relating to this marriage.

appointed the conſtable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and I, to treat with the perſon whom the grand duke ſhould ſend to Paris. We were reſolved not to let the affair ſleep. Joannini, the perſon deputed by the grand duke, was no ſooner arrived, than the articles were inſtantly drawn and ſigned by us all. 1599.

I was pitched upon to communicate this news to the king, who did not expect the buſineſs would have been concluded ſo ſuddenly. As ſoon as I replied to his queſtion from whence I came, "We "come, ſire, from marrying you," this prince remained a quarter of an hour as if he had been ſtruck with a thunderbolt. He afterwards walked up and down his chamber haſtily, delivering himſelf up to reflections, with which his mind was ſo violently agitated, that for a long time he could not utter a word. I did not doubt but that all I had repreſented to him had now a proper effect: At length recovering himſelf like a man who had taken his reſolution, "Well?" ſaid he, rubbing his hands together, "well, *depardieu!* be it ſo, there is no remedy: if "for the good of my kingdom I muſt marry, I "muſt." He acknowledged to me, that the fear of ſucceeding no better in his ſecond than his firſt marriage was the cauſe of his irreſolution. Strange caprice of the human mind! A prince who had extricated himſelf with glory and ſucceſs from a thouſand cruel diſſenſions, which war and policy had occaſioned, trembled at the very thoughts of domeſtic quarrels, and ſeemed more troubled than when, that very year, upon notice ſent from a capuchin of Milan*, an Italian, who had come to Paris with an intention to poignard him, was ſeized in the midſt of the court. The marriage, though concluded on, was not ſolemnized till the following year.

* His name was Frere Honorio. Henry IV. thanked him himſelf for it, and cauſed ſeveral advantageous offers to be made him by his ambaſſador at Rome, Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 302.

1599. Other foreign affairs in this, which remain to be mentioned, are theſe; the war in the Low Countries, which was vigorouſly begun when the archduke went into thoſe provinces; the king, upon reiterated complaints from Spain, forbad his ſubjects to bear arms in the ſervice of the States, but this was merely for form's ſake, policy not permitting him to ſuffer the Flemiſh to be oppreſſed. His majeſty not only forbore to puniſh thoſe who diſobeyed theſe orders, but likewiſe aſſiſted that people privately: the war in Hungary, which I ſhall ſay nothing of, except that the duke of Mercœur aſked and obtained leave to ſerve in the troops of the emperor Rodolph; the revolution that happened in Sweden, where the then reigning king and elected one of Poland * was dethroned by his ſubjects, who put his uncle Charles duke of Sudermania in his place; and loſt all hope of ever being reſtored by the defeat he received from his rival.

With reſpect to my own perſonal affairs, this was the moſt conſiderable. This year the princeſs d'Epinoi † came to me when I was at Blois, to engage my intereſt with the king againſt the princes of Ligne, who had attempted to uſurp her eſtate, and that of her children. Theſe children were five in number, four of whom, three ſons and her eldeſt daughter, ſhe had brought with her; the youngeſt was educated under the care of madam de Roubais, widow of the viſcount de Gand, her uncle and mine. The princeſs told me, that the neareſt relation by the father's ſide which her children had in France being myſelf, it was fit I ſhould be their guardian. I accepted willingly of this truſt, to procure them

* Sigiſmond. This misfortune befel him for attempting to re-eſtabliſh the catholic religion in Sweden. See, with regard to all theſe foreign affairs, De Thou, le Septennaire, and other hiſtorians, an. 1599.

† Hippolite de Montmorency, widow of Peter de Melun prince d'Epinoi, died in 1594. The princes de Ligne, of whom he ſpeaks here, are l'Amoral prince de Ligne, governor of Artois, that married Mary de Melun, who had the ſeigniories of Roubais, d'Antoing, &c. and his brothers,

juſtice;

juſtice; and had the ſatisfaction at the end of ſeven years, during which time I took the ſame care of theſe children as my own, to reſtore to them the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thouſand livres a year. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter, to take notice of the obligations they received from his majeſty. 1599.

About the ſame time the merchants of Tours came to intreat my aſſiſtance in procuring leave for them to eſtabliſh manufactures of ſilks, and of gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which had not yet been made in France, together with a prohibition for importing any from foreign countries for the future, aſſuring me that they had ſufficient for to ſupply the whole kingdom. Before I gave them their anſwer, I required time to examine if their report was true; and being convinced it was not, I endeavoured to diſſuade them from an enterpriſe which could not miſcarry with impunity: I could not prevail. Upon my refuſal they addreſſed themſelves directly to his majeſty. I thought it neceſſary not to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment, which, if well conducted, might be of great uſe. The king, overcome by their importunity, granted all they aſked; but ſix months were ſcarce paſſed, when, for want of having taken proper meaſures, they came to get their commiſſions revoked, which had given general diſcontent, on account of the inconveniency and increaſe of expence to the purchaſers, which had been produced by this new regulation *.

* The murmurings of the bankers and the public farmers of the revenue, whoſe profits the new prohibition had conſiderably diminiſhed, likewiſe contributed not a little to its revocation. Chronologie Septennaire, p. 94. an. 1599. The caſe is the ſame with regard to theſe ſtuffs as all the other parts of traffic. The freedom of trade which ſhould ſubſiſt between all the nations of the world, will not give us, in this reſpect, any advantage over our neighbours, farther than we can find out the methods of manufacturing theſe ſtuffs ourſelves of a more beautiful, finer, or cheaper fabric. At this very day a great number of foreigners take them off our hands, and the prohibition is in force only as to Indian ſtuffs and printed linens; but it were to be wiſhed that we would be more careful to forbear the uſe of the latter, or rather make in France ſuch ſtuffs as would ſerve inſtead of theſe which are ſo commodious and ſerviceable.

1599. The king believing the affair of the marquiſate of Saluces would not be finiſhed without ſtriking a blow for it, had, for ſome time, thought of getting a man to perform the duties of grand maſter of the ordnance, who was capable of acquitting himſelf well of them, and above all of acting by himſelf; this good old d'Eſtrées was not able to do: however, his majeſty would not take away the poſt from him for his children's ſake, of whom monſieur d'Eſtrées was the grandfather; but the expedient he hit upon was, that the elder de Born being deſirous of reſigning the poſt of lieutenant general of the ordnance, I might treat with him for it, and unite the duties of that employment to thoſe of the grand maſter of the ordnance, although I was not inveſted with this laſt. He even offered, in my favour, to augment the privileges of the firſt, already very conſiderable, by raiſing it into an office, giving it authority over all the lieutenant-generals in the provinces, augmenting the ſalary, and laſtly by granting the patents gratis. However, I muſt acknowledge, that I was not to be won by theſe offers, and could not reſolve to ſerve under another, after having been diſappointed of the firſt place: I therefore excuſed myſelf, upon the buſineſs I was already charged with, from not complying with the king's intentions. The king was not to be impoſed upon by this anſwer, and, after many ſolicitations which I knew how to defend myſelf againſt, he left me in anger, telling me that he would mention it to me no more, but, that ſince I would liſten to nothing but my own caprice, he would take his own away.

His kindneſs for me made him that moment forget his threat. He cauſed a propoſal to be made to monſieur de Eſtrées to reſign his employment, which, as ſoon as I was informed of, I offered, by monſieur and madam du Peche, three thouſand crowns to madam de Nery, who governed the old man entirely, to procure his conſent; the maſter of

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the ordnance being importuned by this woman, told the king that he was willing to accept of an equivalent for his poſt. The king immediately acquainted me with his reſolution, adding, that he required nothing of me for the offence I had given him, but to put his artillery into a condition to obtain the marquiſate of Saluces for him, which, he was every day more convinced, would not be yielded without force, that is to ſay, without a great number of very difficult ſieges; for that is the uſual way of carrying on a war in Savoy. I thanked his majeſty, and agreed with d'Eſtrées for eighty thouſand crowns; all theſe petty claims ariſing to a conſiderable ſum more, I was, on this occaſion, obliged to take up rents to the value of a hundred thouſand crowns from Morand, Vienne, and Villemontée; and three days afterwards I was ſolemnly inveſted with the dignity * of grand maſter of the ordnance, and took the uſual oath for it. This was the fourth great office with which I was then honoured; the annual produce of it was twenty four thouſand livres. I thought myſelf obliged, in gratitude to his majeſty for this laſt inſtance of his bounty, to give all my cares to the artillery. I viſited the arſenal, where every thing ſeemed to me in ſuch a miſerable condition, that I reſolved to take up my reſidence there, that I might apply myſelf wholly towards its re-eſtabliſhment, although this caſtle was then very ill built, and deſtitute of every conveniency. 1599.

* The king declared it an office of the crown, and that in favour of M. de Sully. Brantome, in the place where he gives us the liſt of the grand maſters of the ordnance, ſpeaks thus, "Since M. "de Roſny has had this charge of "grand maſter, who undoubtedly "does the place ſo much honour, "the arſenal is in very good or"der, owing to his great capacity "and application, eſpecially as "the importance of the thing it"ſelf and his own good ſenſe "would have it ſo. Witneſs what "he performed in the laſt war "with Savoy, where, in a ſhort "time, he gave proof of very "quick diſpatch and diligence, by "being ſooner in the field than "he was expected." Vies des hommes illuſtres, art. M. *Roſny*, tom. I. p. 227, 228.

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1599. The affairs of the artillery were ſtill worſe. I began by a reform of the officers of this body, who, not having the ſlighteſt notion of their trade, were, in fact, only the ſervants of the officers of the court of juſtice. I caſhiered about five hundred of them at one ſtroke. I conferred next with the commiſſaries for ſaltpetre, and agreed with them for a conſiderable proviſion of powder, which I ſhewed to the king. I treated likewiſe with the maſters of great iron-works, for iron to make carriages and bombs; with foreign merchants for the metal; and with cart-wrights and carpenters, for the wood-work neceſſary for the deſigns I had formed. His majeſty came to viſit his arſenal himſelf, fifteen days after I was ſettled there; and theſe viſits became afterwards one of his chief amuſements: he took pleaſure in ſeeing all the preparations that were making there, and the extreme diligence with which I applied myſelf to them.

That diligence indeed was no more than neceſſary in the preſent poſture of affairs in Savoy, the detail of which, and that of the war they produced, will make up the ſubject of theſe Memoirs for all the following year. It was at the end of this, that the duke of Savoy left his own dominions to come into France with thoſe intentions I have already mentioned, but they were too well known to produce the effects he had promiſed himſelf from his artifices. The reflections which the paſt conduct of this prince, together with that of his agents, and a knowledge of his character gave riſe to, were far from being favourable to him. There was likewiſe ſomething ſtill more poſitive againſt him: Leſdiguieres had ſent advice to his majeſty, that the duke was fortifying his caſtles and towns with great care, eſpecially thoſe of Breſſe, and furniſhing them with ammunition and proviſions. It was known, by means of the count de Carces and the ſieur du Paſſage, that he had ſtrongly ſolicited the court of Madrid, and preſſed the pope, to procure a ſecond

reference of the affair; repreſenting to him, that it was the intereſt of all Italy not to ſuffer that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould poſſeſs any thing beyond the Alps. The French reſidents at Florence ſent advice, that the duke's purpoſe, by coming into France, was to circumvent the king; who, on his ſide, was perſuaded, that it was M. de Savoy himſelf who would be the dupe, not only of him, but of the king of Spain and other princes of Italy; for theſe laſt were at no pains to conceal their diſlike of the duke of Savoy's ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit: and the king of Spain had not forgot the public complaints he made, that while they gave the Low Countries and Franche Compté, of more value than the two Caſtiles and Portugal, as a portion for one of their infantas, the other, whom he had married, had nothing but a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. Many other indecent ſallies of the like nature, followed by reciprocal complaints, had abſolutely ruined their former good correſpondence. 1599.

The event proved the juſtneſs of thoſe obſervations which the letter the king ſhewed me from Leſdiguieres occaſioned; but in public he ſhewed no reſentment at what he had learned of the duke's proceedings; he even ordered me to ſpare no expence to give him, at Lyons, ſuch a reception as is due to foreign ſovereigns. This prince, I believe, had no cauſe to complain of me upon this account: but meſſieurs the counts of Saint John * did not act in the ſame manner; they denied him certain honours which the dukes of Savoy claimed in the aſſembly of canons as counts of Villars. It was at Fountainebleau and at Paris where the ſhew was

* It was by order of the king, according to F. Matthieu, vol. II. b. ii. p. 323. that the canons of Lyons refuſed the duke of Savoy the place of honorary canon in their cathedral, which they had granted to the former duke his father, and that for a very obvious reaſon, the houſe of Savoy having ſince that time loſt poſſeſſion of the earldom of Villars. This ceremony conſiſted in preſenting ſome ſacred veſtments to the duke at the entrance of the cloyſter, and giving him rank in the church among the canons.

moſt

1599. moſt magnificent. The † duke of Savoy, on his part, appeared with ſplendor ſuitable to his rank.

Three days after his arrival at Paris, the king, who was deſirous of ſhewing him the new regulations in the arſenal, ſent me notice that he would come and ſup there with the duke and chief lords and ladies of his court. The duke of Savoy came ſo long before, that I could not impute ſuch extraordinary haſte to mere accident. He deſired to ſee the magazines; which was not what I wanted; I was aſhamed of the poverty of the old magazines, and therefore carried him into the new work-houſes. Twenty cannons lately caſt, and as many more in a readineſs for it, forty completely mounted, and ſeveral other works which he ſaw carrying on with great diligence, ſurpriſed him ſo much, that he could not help aſking me what I meant by all theſe preparations? Sir, replied I, ſmiling, to take Montmelian. The duke, without giving any indications that this reply had a little diſconcerted him, aſked with an air of gaity and freedom, if I had ever been there; and upon my anſwering him in the negative, "Truly, I thought ſo, ſaid he, or you "would not have talked of taking it; Montme-"lian is impregnable." I anſwered in the ſame tone, that I would not adviſe him to oblige the king to make the attempt, becauſe I was very certain Montmelian would, in that caſe, loſe the title of impregnable.

Theſe words gave our converſation immediately a very ſerious turn. The duke of Savoy taking occaſion to mention the affairs which brought him into France, had already, in a polite manner, begun to make me ſenſible that he knew I was not in his intereſt, when we were interrupted by the arrival

† Notwithſtanding this magnificent reception, the duke of Savoy, after the firſt conference he had with Henry IV. became ſenſible that he was not likely to obtain his demand. "I have delivered "my meſſage, ſays he, and may "now go whenever I will." Matthieu ſur le Voyage de ce prince en France, tom. II. liv. ii.

of his majeſty: and afterwards nothing was thought of but pleaſure. However, the ſame night commiſſioners were named for examining the occaſion of the conteſt: the conſtable, the chancellor, marechal Biron, Meiſſe, Villeroi, and myſelf, were appointed for the king; and for the duke of Savoy, Belly his chancellor, the marquis de Lullin, the ſieurs de Jacob, the count de Morette, the chevalier de Brétons, and des Allymes. 1600.

The duke of Savoy had already brought over the greater part of our commiſſioners to his intereſts: he gained them completely at laſt, by the liberal gifts which he beſtowed both on them and the whole court* at the new year. But I was the perſon that gave him moſt trouble; for every time when the queſtion was debated amongſt the commiſſioners, I conſtantly held firm to this determination, either that a reſtitution ſhould be made to his majeſty of the marquiſate of Saluces, or that Breſſe, and all the border of the Rhône from Geneva to Lyons, ſhould be given him in exchange. But for the apparent incivility of ſuch a proceeding, they would have ſolicited my excluſion from their meetings: therefore they had again recourſe to an attempt to gain me, which they reſolved to do at any price whatſoever.

On the 5th of January, des Allymes† came to make me the uſual compliments, in the name of

* The duke ſent the king two large baſons and two cryſtal vaſes, as a new year's gift. "In return "of which, the king gave the duke "a crotchet of diamonds, where, "among others, was one with his "majeſty's picture: it was a very "fine piece, and the duke had a "great value for it: he made pre-"ſents to all who came to compli-"ment him. Chronologie Septen. ann. 1600. It was ſaid that he had gained over the ducheſs of Beaufort to his intereſt. So that if this lady had not died, it is probable the reſtitution of Saluces might have been diſpenſed with. The duke of Savoy playing at primero with Henry, on a bett of 4000 piſtoles, the king neglected his play, ſuppoſing that he had already won the game: but the duke, who had it in his own hand, contented himſelf with ſhewing the cards to the duke of Guiſe and D'Aubigné, who were preſent, and then ſhuffled them together. It is D'Aubigné that relates this circumſtance of the duke's generoſity or policy.

† René de Lucinge des Allymes, ambaſſador from Savoy to the court of France.

his

1600. his highneſs: he intreated me, with great politeneſs, to attend to his maſter's reaſons; that is, in plain terms, to approve of them; for at the ſame time that he made me this requeſt, he preſented me with his highneſs's picture, in a box enriched with diamonds of fifteen or twenty thouſand crowns value. To aſſiſt me in making a compoſition with my conſcience, he told me, that this picture came from a daughter of France; and while he perceived me buſy in admiring the brilliants, added, that it was given me by a prince whoſe attachment to the king was equal to his friendſhip for me. I ſtill kept the picture in my hand, and aſked Des Allymes what were the propoſals he had to make me? He, who thought the deciſive moment was now come, immediately diſplayed his whole ſtock of eloquence; and for want of good reaſons, endeavoured to prove the advantage that was to be gained by the pretended rupture of his maſter with Spain, who offered to aſſiſt the king in conquering Naples, Milan, and the empire itſelf. All this coſt him nothing; and to hear him, one would have thought that he had been able to diſpoſe abſolutely of theſe dominions; for which he added, that he did not doubt but the king would yield willingly to the duke a paltry marquiſate.

I could keep ſilence no longer. I told Des Allymes, that if the king demanded the marquiſate of Saluces to be reſtored to him, it was not on account of its value, ſince that was very inconſiderable; but that he could not in honour ſuffer the crown to be diſmembered of one of its ancient domains, and which had been uſurped at a time when the duke of Savoy, having received the higheſt obligations from Henry III. at his return from Poland, ought in gratitude to have abſtained from it. I thanked the deputy for his obliging expreſſions in my favour; and to pay his compliments with others, aſſured him, that when the duke of Savoy had made an abſolute reſtitution of Saluces, I would not

not forget to uſe my intereſt with his majeſty, to engage him to procure thoſe opulent kingdoms for the duke which he had offered to the king, and which would be much more convenient for him than his majeſty. Saying this, I opened the box, and after praiſing the workmanſhip and the materials, I told Des Allymes, that the great value of the preſent was the only reaſon which hindered me from accepting it; but that if he would allow me to return the box and the diamonds, I would keep the picture with great pleaſure, in remembrance of a prince ſo obliging. Accordingly, I ſeparated the box and diamonds from the picture; when Des Allymes telling me, that it did not belong to him to make any alterations in his maſter's preſents, I intreated him to take back all together, and he left me in deſpair of ever being able to engage me in his maſter's intereſt, and appeared but little ſatisfied with my behaviour. 1600.

All that remained now to be done was to exclude me from their meetings. Upon his majeſty's refuſing to gratify them in this requeſt, the duke of Savoy took it in his head to deſire, that the patriarch * of Conſtantinople might aſſiſt at theſe meetings in the name of the pope; which the king agreed to, not thinking of the artifice concealed under this propoſition. The next day, the king having an inclination to play at tennis, appointed the aſſembly to be kept at the conſtable's houſe, becauſe he could conveniently make his party when he went from thence, after he had ſeen the conference begun: but before he left us, he exhorted all the commiſſioners to have a ſtrict regard to juſtice; and whiſpering me in particular, "Take care of "every thing, ſaid he, and do not ſuffer them to "impoſe upon you."

Upon the king's departure, I found, that inſtead of taking their ſeats they divided into parties, two

* Father Bonaventure de Calatagirone, general of the Cordeliers, and the pope's nuncio.

and

1600. and three together, and the nuncio ſometimes conferring with one ſet, ſometimes with another, not ſuffering the buſineſs to be entered upon regularly; and, above all, carefully avoiding to ſay any thing to me. At length Bellievre told me, that the good patriarch could not ſubdue his ſcruples about converſing with an huguenot; and intreated me, in the name of the aſſembly, to abſent myſelf, ſince nothing could be done while I was preſent. I inſtantly comprehended the cauſe of this behaviour; and bowing profoundly low, withdrew, intending to go and give the king an account of what had paſſed. I met him in the gallery, where he had ſtopped to ſpeak to Bellengreville: he aſked me, with ſome ſurprize, if all was over already? and upon my acquainting him with the truth of the matter, he fell into a great rage, and ordered me to return to the commiſſioners, and tell them, that if there was any perſon amongſt them to whom my preſence was diſpleaſing, it was his buſineſs to withdraw, not mine. I diſturbed a little the joy of the aſſembly, by repeating this new order of the king's. The meaſures they took were, to waſte the hours in ſeeking for expedients, till dinner-time approached; and then they deferred entering upon the queſtion till the afternoon. But notwithſtanding all their endeavours with his majeſty, I continued ſtill in the number of the commiſſioners, and the nuncio was obliged to vanquiſh his reluctance.

Bretons and Roncas turned themſelves on every ſide, to avoid yielding to a reſtitution of the marquiſate; they offered to do homage for it to his majeſty, and if that was not ſufficient, to hold Breſſe upon the ſame conditions. I eaſily rendered all theſe propoſals ineffectual, and got it unanimouſly declared, to give the duke of Savoy this alternative, either to reſign Saluces to the king, or, in its place, the county of Breſſe as far as the river of Dain, the Vicarſhip of Barcelonette, the valley of Sture, that of Perouſe, and Pignerol; in which caſe, all

all the towns and fortreſſes taken on both ſides were to be reſtored *. 1600.

The duke of Savoy expected a quite different conduct from the commiſſioners; but the truth is, they durſt not openly oppoſe a determination which they knew to be the king's: all the reſource they had left was, to join with the courtiers in ſupporting the intereſts of the duke of Savoy; and were continually repreſenting to the king, that he ought not to act too rigorouſly with a prince, whoſe alliance he might purchaſe at a very inconſiderable price, and would be much more advantageous than a fief of no value, and which would be very difficult to preſerve. The alternative they offered the duke of Savoy afforded them a pretence for granting him ſix months to come to a reſolution: he deſired eighteen; and I maintained, there was no neceſſity for any delay. I went to his majeſty to acquaint him with this reſolution, which was taken in ſpite of me; and repreſented to him the great inconveniency of giving the duke of Savoy ſo long a time to renew his correſpondences, and to prepare for war. Henry, prejudiced by the diſcourſe of the courtiers on the neceſſity of granting a delay to the duke of Savoy, aſked me how it was poſſible to do otherwiſe? "By granting the duke of Savoy, "ſaid I, an honourable eſcort of fifteen thouſand "foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty cannon, "to conduct him to Montmelian, or what other "place he ſhall chuſe to go to, and there oblige "him to explain himſelf upon the alternative that "has been propoſed to him." The king did not approve of my advice; his word was given to the

* A kind of agreement was concluded upon this plan between the commiſſaries, which it was much ſuſpected the duke of Savoy would not obſerve, becauſe of the delays he deſired: whereupon, as Le Grain relates it, a certain perſon propoſed to Henry, that the duke of Savoy ſhould be ſeized, and by that means obliged to perform his part of the articles. But this propoſal was rejected by the king. See the particulars of the negociation, and of the duke's reſidence at Paris, in M. de Thou, and Le Septennaire, an. 1599, 1600.

1600. contrary; I was truly grieved at it; for I have been always firmly perſuaded, that, but for this compliance, his majeſty might have avoided a war, and have received complete ſatisfaction. All I could obtain was, that three months ſhould be taken from the ſix that had been agreed upon.

The duke of Savoy, finding that his majeſty, who was weary of the continual ſolicitations he had on this ſubject, would no longer anſwer otherwiſe than in theſe few words, *I am reſolved to have my marquiſate*, ſet out a little time after for Chambery, where, till the expiration of the time preſcribed, which was in the month of June, he employed himſelf in preparations for his defence. He would have had no occaſion for them, if the plot of a woman, named Nicole Mignon, had ſucceeded. She had undertaken to poiſon the king *, and thought to have engaged the count of Soiſſons, who, on all occaſions, made known his diſcontent, in her deſign; but he conceived ſo great an horror at it, that he diſcovered her immediately: ſhe confeſſed her crime, and was burnt.

Nothing remarkable happened during theſe three months, except the diſpute between meſſieurs Du Perron and Du Pleſſis. Towards the latter end of the laſt year, appeared a book † of Du Pleſſis upon

* By procuring her huſband to be admitted into the number of the king's cooks, by the intereſt of the count de Soiſſons, ſteward of the houſhold. She was well known to all the princes of the blood, and to Henry himſelf, at St. Denis, where ſhe kept one of the principal inns during the war. The count of Soiſſons, to whom ſhe had hinted, that it would be his own fault if he was not one of the greateſt princes in the world, ſuſpecting that this woman had ſome bad deſign, cauſed Lomenie to conceal himſelf in a cloſet, which gave him an opportunity of diſcovering what means ſhe intended to uſe. She was accuſed of practiſing ſorcery, but was only a profligate woman, and ſomewhat diſordered in her ſenſes. Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600.

† This book is intitled Inſtructions de la ſainte euchariſtie, and attacks the maſs by pretended arguments drawn from the fathers. As ſoon as it appeared in public, many catholic divines exclaimed againſt the falſhood of a great number of the quotations it contained. This obliged Du Pleſſis to offer a kind of challenge, which thoſe doctors prevailed upon the biſhop of

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the eucharist, which was looked upon, by the protestant party, to be a master-piece, and which I sent immediately to the bishop of Evreux, who was at his diocese: the difference of religion had never been able to destroy that friendship and gratitude 1600.

Evreux to accept. After several letters and steps taken on both sides to settle the method in which they were to proceed, and in which it appears that Du Plessis repented more than once of having gone so far; the king determined that there should be a public dispute between the two antagonists, wherein fifty of these passages were to be made good every day, till all the five hundred and fifty were gone through, which M. Du Perron had excepted against. They met in the council-chamber, at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the king and commissaries appointed by him: those for the catholics were the president De Thou, the advocate Pithou, and the sieur Martin, reader and physician to his majesty; for the calvinists, Fresne-Canaye, and Casaubon. They met on Thursday the 4th of May, at one o'clock in the afternoon. Of sixty-one passages which Du Perron sent to his antagonist, the latter was only prepared on nineteen of them, which he had selected from all the rest: as to these, said he to the king, I will lose my reputation or life, if one of them be found false. However, he was convicted of an unfair representation in all those that were examined: and they could only go through nine of them: the chancellor then declared the opinions of all present, upon these nine articles severally, that in the first, which was from Scotus, and the second from Durandus, Du-Plessis had taken the objection for the answer; in the third and fourth from St. Chrysostom, and the fifth from Jerom, that he had omitted some of the most material words: in the sixth, that it was no where to be found in St. Cyril; on the seventh, which was taken from the Code, that it was indeed from Crinitus, but that Crinitus had falsified the text: as to the eighth, which included two propositions from St. Bernard, that Du Plessis ought to have separated them, or at least to have put an *&c.* between: with regard to the ninth from Theodoret, that it was mutilated, and that the word idols was taken for images. This was the only conference that was held. Du Plessis Mornay, being seized with an indisposition next day, went to Saumur some days after, without taking leave of the king. Fresne-Canaye, one of the commissioners, and Saint Marie du Mont, another eminent protestant, were, soon after this dispute, in which Henry himself sometimes spoke, converted to the catholic faith. Du Plessis pretended to prove, by the authority of St. Cyril, that it was not a custom among the primitive christians to adore the cross, and yet he alledged the reproach which the emperor Julian throws on them upon this very account. "It is not very "likely," returned the king, "that "Julian the apostate would have "reproached the christians for "adoring the cross, if they had "not actually done so; otherwise "he would have exposed himself "to be laughed at." It was the king likewise who said, that at least an *&c.* ought to have been put in the passage from St. Bernard.

A catholic having observed to a calvinist, that Du Perron had already gained several passages of Du Plessis, No matter, answered the protestant, provided that of Saumur be still left to him. Matthieu, ib. This fact, which is told in the same manner in several polemical

1600. which this prelate had always for me, nor that affection and reverence, which I had ever preſerved for his merit, his abilities, and even for his quality of being my biſhop: the letters we wrote to each other were always in this ſtrain. I was greatly ſurpriſed to read in that he wrote to me on account of the book I had ſent him, that the errors and falſhoods it contained were ſo numerous, and followed one another ſo cloſe, that the whole book was juſtly cenſurable. "Not that I would accuſe monſieur "Du Pleſſis of inſincerity," added the biſhop of Evreux, with equal moderation in his adverſary's regard as politeneſs in mine, "but I am ſorry for "his misfortune in having given credit to the con-"fuſed collections of compilers, who have greatly "deceived him." The remainder of his letter contained only compliments upon my late preferment to the poſt of grand maſter of the ordnance, and aſſurances of the pleaſure it would give him "to "ſee me," he ſaid, "who commanded the cannons "of France, obey the canons of the church."

I never had ſo good an opinion of Du Pleſſis as the reſt of the party had, who were all prejudiced in his favour; and I would not have choſen to have been ſecurity for the exactneſs of thoſe large volumes, which he ſent into the world in ſo quick a ſucceſſion, for that on the euchariſt had been preceded by a treatiſe upon the church. To write well, and upon theſe ſubjects eſpecially, long reflection is neceſſary. This I told the biſhop of Evreux in my anſwer, but at the ſame time I obſerved to him, that I could not believe Du Pleſſis's book was, as he ſaid, a ſeries of errors. I told Du Perron, at the

treatiſes, is generally atteſted by all our good hiſtorians, and even thoſe who treat the proteſtants moſt favourably. M. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. p. 843, who was himſelf one of the commiſſaries. Matthieu, ibid. Chron. Sept. p. 123, &c. Suppl. au Journal d'Henry IV. tom. II. p. 51, &c. Vol. 8778, de la Bibliot. du Roi, Le Grain, and ſeveral others, who give us a relation of the whole diſpute; ſo conſequently no credit is to be given to the manner in which it is related in La Vie Du Pleſſis, liv. ii. p. 269.

ſame

ſame time, that this would be the ſubject of a great diſpute between them, for Du Pleſſis would not ſuffer his accuſations to paſs unanſwered; this was all the ſerious part of my letter, the reſt of it was filled with compliment, praiſes, and an invitation to viſit my new dwelling, which do not deſerve to be repeated *. 1600.

What I had foreſeen happened. However, I had expected only a private not a public diſpute. I would have interpoſed the king's authority, to have hindered the two champions from proceeding ſo far, but Du Pleſſis was the moſt difficult † to be perſuaded, and perſiſted in his reſolution to meaſure his weapons with thoſe of the biſhop of Evreux. Every one knows how the diſpute was terminated. Du Pleſſis's defence was weak, and ended in his diſgrace. The king, who would honour this challenge with his preſence, gave a thouſand praiſes to the wit and learning of Monſieur d'Evreux. "What do "you think of your pope?" ſaid Henry to me, during the debate (for Du Pleſſis was with the proteſtants what the pope is among the catholics:) "I "think, ſire" replied I, "that he is more a pope "than your majeſty imagines, for, at this moment, "he gives the cardinal's hat to monſieur d'Evreux. "If our religion has not a better foundation than "his legs and arms croſſed, I would quit it this "inſtant."

It was upon this occaſion, that his majeſty, in a letter to the duke of Epernon, told him, that the dioceſe of Evreux had vanquiſhed that of Saumur; that this was one of the greateſt advantages, which for a long time, had been obtained for the church of God; and that ſuch a proceeding would draw more proteſtants to the true church, than a courſe of violence for fifty years. This letter, the turn of which

* See thoſe letters in the original, tom. II. part 1. p. 52.

† Sir, ſaid Du Pleſſis to M. de Roſny, my book is my own child, which I will defend, and I intreat you would ſuffer me to do ſo: don't you meddle with it, for you have not reared it. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 340.

1600. was no leſs ſingular than the choice Henry made of the duke of Epernon to addreſs it to, made as much noiſe as the diſpute itſelf, when it became public, which could not fail of happening when it was in ſuch hands. Some ſaid that the king wrote it to deſtroy the ſuſpicions of his not being a ſincere catholic, which, notwithſtanding his converſion, prevailed during his whole life, and gave room to the Jeſuits to mention him diſadvantageouſly in their letters to Rome: others imagined that this letter had a meaning which was not at firſt perceived, and maintained, that the king had a view in it to perſuade either Spain or the proteſtants, that all efforts to induce the council of France to take violent and ſanguinary methods with them would be uſeleſs.

The ſix months that had been given to the duke of Savoy were now expired, yet he had taken no care to ſatisfy his engagement. His majeſty began to think he ſhould obtain nothing but by force; but, beſides the perſuaſions of his courtiers, who all ſeemed to have ſold their voices to the duke of Savoy, this prince was then retarded by an obſtacle far more powerful, his fondneſs for his new miſtreſs, to whom he had given the title of marchioneſs of Verneuil. He was no longer able to think of a ſeparation, and (it is with ſome confuſion that I mention it) after I had, by repeated importunities, prevailed upon him to take the rout to Lyons, he deliberated whether he ſhould not carry her with him, to which he was farther incited by the flatterers about him *. She was now with child; and, having the promiſe of marriage in her poſſeſſion, the affair became of great conſequence to Henry. Providence once more interpoſed in his favour. Ma-

* She came to meet him at St. André de la Coſte. Baſſompierre, who was with Henry, ſays, that the lovers quarrelled at their firſt meeting, but were ſoon reconciled; after which, this prince carried his miſtreſs to Grenoble, where he continued with her ſeven or eight days, and afterwards to Chambery, tom. I. p. 86, &c.

dam

dam de Verneuil was ſo frightened by the thunder during a ſtorm, that ſhe was delivered of a dead child. The king was informed of this accident at Moulins, whither he had advanced, and from whence he ſent many a melancholy look to the place where he had left his miſtreſs; but, reſtored to himſelf by his own reflections, he continued his rout to Lyons, where his troops had orders to join him. 1600.

I intended to follow, as ſoon as I had ſettled all affairs relating to the government, and taken proper meaſures to ſecure the neceſſary ſupplies for the war, which I did not delay till the moment of execution. I had written to the receivers-general, that, according to the king's order, they were no longer to pay any bills drawn upon them, except thoſe which were for the ſupport of the frontier garriſons and the payment of the troops, becauſe all others would be immediately diſcharged at the treaſury, to which I ordered all their money to be carried directly. I likewiſe forbad thoſe that paid rents, to diſcharge any bills without a new order, to keep them from paying, as they were accuſtomed, ſuch notes as had been revoked or created without money. I raiſed ſome militia, which I choſe rather to incorporate in the old corps, than to compoſe new regiments of. I applied myſelf more particularly to the affairs of the ordnance. I ſent orders to the lieutenants of the ordnance of Lyonnois and Dauphiné, and to the commiſſioners of that of Burgundy, Provence, and Languedoc, to collect all their beſt pieces, and to make a great number of carriages for cannon and balls in proportion, and ſend them all with the powder and other ammunition to Lyons and Grenoble: and fearing, leſt my orders ſhould not be punctually executed, I went myſelf to Lyons, and returned in three days.

I gave the like orders in all the other provinces, and brought carriers to Paris, whom I obliged to enter into an engagement before a notary, to carry, in fifteen days, three millions three hundred thou-

1600. ſand weight to Lyons, without explaining to them what kind of merchandiſe it was. They were greatly aſtoniſhed when they found their loading was twenty cannons, ſix thouſand balls, and other things, belonging to the ordnance not very portable. They alledged that ſuch heavy pieces could not be comprehended in goods of carriage; but having threatened to ſeize their carts and horſes, and they not being willing to loſe the expences they had been already at, reſolved to do what was required of them: and I had the ſatisfaction to ſee all this luggage arrive ſafely in ſixteen days at Lyons; whereas, by the ordinary methods, it could not be done in leſs than two or three months, and at an infinite expence.

It was always doubted whether the king would ſeriouſly renew the war, till his majeſty was ſeen to take his rout to the Alps. The chancellor Belliévre, who had perſiſted in his endeavours to diſſuade him from it, finding my advice prevailed, came to me with an intention to make me approve, if poſſible, of the reaſons he had againſt it. I did not regard him as one of thoſe perſons with whom to enter into an explanation would have been uſeleſs. His ſincerity appeared in the manner in which he ſpoke to me, and the reflections with which his mind ſeemed to me to be agitated: the condition France was in, for which a war of any kind whatever could not but be fatal: the king's honour, which was engaged to maintain a work ſo ſolid as that of the peace of Vervins; the reproach of the infraction of that peace to which he expoſed himſelf: the fear of bringing all the duke of Savoy's allies upon him, to oppoſe whom he had an army ſufficiently provided with artillery indeed, but conſiſting only of ſix or ſeven thouſand foot, and twelve or fifteen hundred horſe, and (for ſo Belliévre imagined) deſtitute of all neceſſary proviſions. This was the ſum of the chancellor's objections.

I do

I do not think that, in any paſſage of theſe Memoirs, or in the conduct of my whole life, eſpecially ſince I have been called to the government of public affairs, there is any thing that can lay me under the neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf with regard to too great a propenſity for war. Should it appear to any one that, on this occaſion, I acted in contradiction to my own maxims, I anſwer, that, in reality, no maxim, however general it may be, can ſuit all caſes; and ſuppoſing war to be (as I really believe it is) an evil at all times, it is alſo certain that it is often a neceſſary and even an indiſpenſable evil, when by that only thoſe claims can be ſupported, which it would be a baſeneſs to renounce; ſince it muſt be likewiſe confeſſed, that generoſity and mildneſs, two qualities abſolutely neceſſary in ſovereigns, yet when employed againſt the common rules of prudence, degenerate into weakneſs, and are looked upon as inſtances of bad conduct. 1660.

To this general reply I added the particular reaſons for the preſent war. I ſhewed the chancellor, that he ſuffered himſelf to be unſeaſonably alarmed: the king of Spain was the only formidable ally, whom it might be apprehended would join the duke of Savoy; but it was to be conſidered, that the reigning king of Spain was a young man, without experience or abilities for war, ſufficiently employed in reducing his own ſubjects, and wholly guided by a miniſter as little inclined to war as himſelf, by the natural turn of his diſpoſition, and a deſire of keeping in his own hands the money which muſt be conſumed by a war; and laſtly, that he bore no goodwill to the duke of Savoy, and was convinced, as well as all Europe, that the king demanded only a reſtitution of what belonged to him: that this war would appear a mere difference between the king and the duke of Savoy, or rather an effect of the intoxication of the latter, occaſioned by an ill-grounded preſumption, and the intrigues carried on in his favour in the council of France: and this preſuppoſed,

1600. poſed, the ſucceſs of the war depended upon its being purſued with expedition. I maintained to the chancellor, that, with four thouſand men this year, the king would gain greater advantages, than with thirty thouſand the next: but I did not neglect to prove to him, that his majeſty was not ſo unprovided as he imagined, at leaſt, that he ſhould not want for two things, which, in the offices I held, it depended upon me to furniſh him with, that is, money and artillery. Belliévre was ſo far from being convinced by my arguments, that he left me with chagrin: the event will ſhew who had the beſt reaſons on his ſide.

The duke of Savoy ſeeing that, contrary to his expectation, a French * army was ready to fall upon him, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, to prevent, at leaſt, any act of hoſtility before the winter was begun. He ſent deputy after deputy to his majeſty at Lyons; ſometimes he appeared willing to perform the agreements, ſometimes he eluded them by ſpecious reaſons, and at other times, he propoſed advantageous projects for his majeſty, and continued to impoſe upon this prince ſo completely, that Henry, believing he ſhould be under no neceſſity to go farther than Lyons, ſtaid there much longer than he ought to have done. While I continued with Henry in this city, I guarded him againſt the ſubtilties of the duke of Savoy; but, as ſoon as I left him to return to Paris, to haſten, as I have ſaid, the preparations for war, the king was ſo effectually deceived by the duke's pretended ſincerity, that he wrote to me to ſuſpend my cares, for every thing was ſettled in an amicable manner.

In effect, the duke of Savoy had agreed to all that was demanded of him, but this was a mere verbal agreement, and propoſed that hoſtages ſhould be gi-

* He was encouraged, it is ſaid, by certain idle predictions of aſtrologers, who gave out that, in the month of Auguſt, there would be no king in France: a thing that proved very true, ſays Perefixe, for at that time he was victorious in the heart of Savoy.

ven

ven on each ſide; a very proper management to delay the performance of his word, by the time that was neceſſarily taken up in naming thoſe hoſtages, and ſending them to each other. I wrote to the king very freely my opinion of this pretended accommodation, and did not ſcruple to diſobey his orders, by forwarding the ammunition *, and came in perſon to Montargis, from whence I ſent my baggage up the Loire, intending to ride poſt myſelf. Here it was that I received a letter from the king, which contained only theſe few words, "You have "gueſſed truly: the duke of Savoy has deceived "us; come to me as ſoon as poſſible, and neglect "nothing that may be neceſſary to make him ſen-"ſible of his perfidy." 1600.

I was informed more particularly of all that had paſſed, by a letter from Villeroi. The king had ſent for Roncas, from whom he had received ſo little ſatisfaction in the explanation he demanded of him, that, reſolving to preſs him in ſuch a manner as to leave him no ſubterfuge to have recourſe to, the Savoyard deputy at length betrayed himſelf by his equivocations, which threw the king into ſo great a rage, that he would hear no more, and inſtantly took his rout towards Chamberry; and it was from this place that the abovementioned billet was dated. His majeſty imagined that this city would ſurrender at his approach, and that he ſhould not be at the trouble of inveſting it; but in this he was miſtaken.

This interval was employed by the king in ſoliciting his marriage with the princeſs Mary of Medicis; and this negotiation, which was highly pleaſing to the pope, was of ſervice to the king, in hindering his holineſs from taking any part in the affairs of Savoy. D'Alincourt, whom his majeſty had ſent to Rome on this occaſion, obtained all

* Matthieu, in the account which he gives of this expedition into Savoy, beſtows, in ſeveral places, high encomiums on the duke of Sully, and in a great meaſure aſcribes to him the honours of that campaign. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 352, 361, 365, &c.

that

1600. that he demanded: the marriage was concluded on, and nothing now remained but to ſend ſome perſon to Florence, to ſolemnize it by proxy. Bellegarde earneſtly ſolicited for this honour; but all he could obtain was to be the bearer of the procuration, which was given to the duke of Florence.

While this ceremony was performing in Florence*, Henry thought it neceſſary to appear wholly taken up with balls, plays, and entertainments: however, that did not hinder him from laying out no leſs aſſiduouſly the whole plan of the campaign; he ordered Leſdiguieres to take an exact view of the caſtle of Montmelian; and upon his report, that with twenty pieces of cannon, and twenty thouſand diſcharges, it might be taken, he reſolved to attack it. He likewiſe cauſed that of Bourg-en-Breſſe to be reconnoitred by Vienne and Caſtenet, who were with me; and it being their opinion that the place might be carried, it was reſolved to endeavour the taking of theſe two cities by petard, and in the ſame night; and in proper time beſiege the two citadels in form. Marechal Biron, to whom his majeſty committed this enterpriſe, gave the expedition of Montmelian to Crequy, and reſerved that of Bourg to himſelf.

The king had, without knowing it, pitched upon him, amongſt all his general officers, who was the leaſt likely to give ſucceſs to the enterpriſe. Biron was at that time deeply engaged with the duke of Savoy. It is thought that his treaty might have been at leaſt rough drawn or ſketched out by this time. He ſent word to Bouvens, the governor of Bourg, to be upon his guard, and informed him of the night and the hour when it was deſigned to ſurpriſe him. All this was afterwards proved. But what is ſingular enough, this treachery did not hinder the taking of Bourg, and on the ſame night that it had been reſolved to attack it.

* See the whole account of it in La Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600.

Bouvens

Bouvens communicated the advice he had received to the garriſon and inhabitants of Bourg, exhorted them to defend themſelves bravely, kindled great fires, doubled, nay, trebled the corps-de-guard, and, in a word, took all poſſible precautions on the night that he expected to be attacked, even to the ſtanding centinel himſelf. Every one impatiently expected the hour mentioned in the billet, which in reality was to be that of the attack. However, it happened that marechal Biron, who was himſelf at the head of his troops, either to give the governor more time, or to render the enterpriſe impoſſible to be executed, or perhaps by mere chance, took a road ſo far about, that inſtead of midnight, it was break of day when he appeared before Bourg. He would then have perſuaded his officers to defer till another time an attempt which at ſuch an hour was very improper. But his opinion was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by Saint-Angel, Chambaret, Louſtrange, Vienne, and particularly by Caſtenet, who had undertaken to fix the petard in open day, even though the baſtions ſhould be filled, and likewiſe by Boëſſe*, to whom his majeſty had promiſed the government of it; that Biron, fearing leſt he ſhould incur the imputation of cowardiſe, and believing that the deſign would miſcarry, was obliged to conſent to it. 1600.

The affair turned out quite otherwiſe: the garriſon and the citizens having been upon the watch till two, three, and even four o'clock, were of opinion that the enterpriſe was blaſted, or that it was merely imaginary; and when day appeared, went to breakfaſt, and to refreſh themſelves with ſleep; leaving the care of guarding the walls to ſome centinels, who being oppreſſed with ſleep, acquitted themſelves very ill of their charge. Caſtenet, with three faithful men whom I had given him, advanced as far as the counterſcarp, with each a petard in his hand, followed by twelve men well armed, and of

* Peter d'Eſcodaca de Boëſſe.

tried

1600. tried bravery: the centinel cried, "Who goes there?" Caſtenet, whom I had inſtructed, anſwered, That they were friends of the city, who were come to advertiſe the governor, that ſome troops had appeared at the diſtance of two thouſand paces, and were gone back: he added, That he had much more to ſay to monſieur Bouvens from the duke of Savoy; and deſired the ſoldier to go and inform him of it, that the gate might be opened. The centinel quitting his poſt to go to the governor's houſe, Caſtenet, without loſs of time, advanced to the gate and fixed his petard, which carried off the draw-bridge, and made a breach, through which, the ditches not being very deep, twelve men, by the help of ſhort ladders, entered immediately, and after them the whole army. All this was executed with ſuch rapidity, that the city was filled in a moment with our men, and Bouvens had only time enough to retire precipitately, with his garriſon, into the citadel.

The town of Montmelian * was taken in the ſame manner; and Chamberry, by his majeſty's orders, was inveſted: the citizens, full of terror, thought not of defending the town, but fortified themſelves in the caſtle, where at firſt they made a ſhew of reſiſtance; however, they capitulated the next day, being intimidated by a battery of eight pieces of cannon, the fire of which they durſt not ſtand. By the order his majeſty cauſed to be obſerved, there was not the leaſt violence committed. The French ladies, who followed their huſbands in this expedition, ſettled at Chamberry; and the next day after the reduction of it, my wife gave a ball to the principal ladies of the town, where all appeared as gay as if it had not changed its maſter.

* Conſult likewiſe, on all theſe military expeditions, De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chronologie Septen. an. 1600. in which Sully is mentioned with great honour. See likewiſe tom. I. des Mem. de Baſſompierre.

After this, the king ſent me to Lyons, to give orders for the furniſhing and conveyance of the ordnance; and commanded me to viſit, in this journey, the citadels of Saint-Catherine, Seiſſel, Pierre-Chatel, l'Ecluſe, and other fortreſſes of Breſſe, particularly the caſtle of Bourg: he ordered me likewiſe to provide a quantity of gabions, three feet in heighth and nine in width; upon which I anſwered him, that ſuch gabions were only proper to make an encloſure for ſheep newly bought up in the country. The king, on his ſide, in the mean time, went to poſſeſs himſelf of Conflans, Miolens, Montiers, Saint-Jacome, Saint-John de Morienne, and Saint-Michael: not one of theſe places held out againſt the cannon. The taking of Miolens reſtored liberty to a man who had been detained in the priſons there fifteen years: Feugeres brought him to me on account of the ſingularity of a prediction that had been made him, upon the duration of his captivity, and the perſon by whom he ſhould be delivered; which was found to be exactly fulfilled. 1600.

I left Lyons, to execute the commiſſion his majeſty had given me*. I reached Villars by dinner-time, and Bourg in the evening, where I was received and treated with great politeneſs by marechal Biron. When he found that I came to take a view of the citadel, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade me from it; repreſenting to me, that I expoſed myſelf to evident danger. He was certainly right: the enterpriſe was full of hazard; but it was becauſe that this marechal, having failed in his attempt to hinder me from executing my deſign, had given the enemies (for I cannot think otherwiſe) ſuch exact informations, that wherever I preſented myſelf I found a battery againſt me. Notwithſtanding this, I continued there night and day, till I had finiſhed all my obſervations.

* In the Upper Breſſe.

Biron,

1600. Biron, who probably had expected that I ſhould pay dear for my curioſity, finding that I had eſcaped, laid other ſnares for me: on the day that I was to leave Bourg and return to Lyons, I received advice, that a party of the enemy, conſiſting of two hundred men, had arrived at a caſtle near the place where I was to lodge that night. I took notice of it to Biron, who then had none of that obliging ſolicitude for my ſafety which he had diſcovered before, and treated the information as a jeſt; which raiſed my ſuſpicions. I aſked him for an eſcort of ſoldiers; which he excuſed himſelf from granting, telling me, that he would commit this care to his own guards: but he privately ordered them to return, and leave me at Villars; which they did, notwithſtanding my intreaties to the contrary, as ſoon as I alighted at Villars, and my mules were unladed. The deſign of this proceeding appeared now but too plain. I ordered my mules to be loaden again, and travelled four leagues farther, nor ſtopped till I came to Vimy, where I thought myſelf in ſafety. My ſuſpicions that Biron had undertaken to deliver me up to the duke of Savoy were changed to a certainty, when I learned that three hours after I had left Villars, the two hundred men came and ſtormed the houſe I had been at, and ſeemed very much concerned that they had miſſed their blow.

A courier from his majeſty waited for me at Lyons; his buſineſs was, to get a train of artillery to force Conflans, the only one of thoſe little towns which the king had attacked that made any reſiſtance, and which ſurrendered immediately at the approach of the cannon. The king, whom I went to viſit at Saint-Pierre d'Albigny, told me, that he was afraid he ſhould not accompliſh ſo eaſily his deſigns upon Charbonnieres and the caſtle of Montmelian; and ſeemed to make ſome difficulty about undertaking thoſe ſieges at the approach of winter. I aſſured his majeſty, that inſtead of five months (for ſo long he imagined the ſiege of Mont-

melian would last) it might be ended in so many weeks, provided that during that time the works were carried on with vigour. The king gave no credit to what I said on this head, and after I had left him said to my brother and La-Varenne, that my enemies would take advantage of my presumptuous manner of talking. However, the attention with which I had examined the weak parts of this castle, which had apparently escaped the observation of others, convinced me that I had not advanced any thing lightly. 1606.

The next day, the king taking a journey to Grenoble, left the command of the army in his absence to me. During this time, I no longer employed myself in observing Montmelian, under the cannon of which we were, but in forming the plan of the out-works, and of the disposition of those batteries with which I expected to carry the fort. I went afterwards to the king at Grenoble, who had passed his time in deliberating with his council upon this enterprize, which he had forbad me absolutely to begin in his absence. I insisted again upon the reasonableness of undertaking it; and again found the same opposition. I know not whether it was through enmity to me, or attachment to the duke of Savoy, that the count of Soissons, the duke D'Epernon, La-Guiche, and many others, appeared so unreasonable: amongst all the counsellors, only messieurs de Lesdiguieres and de Crequy were of my opinion. I laid the plan I had just finished upon the table, and went out, saying, that while they deliberated whether Montmelian should be attacked, I would go and put myself in readiness to take it; and in the mean time would fall upon Charbonnieres, that the example of this fort, for the taking of which I demanded only eight days, might teach them what to expect from Montmelian.

Accordingly I laid siege to Charbonnieres, where I suffered incredible fatigues; the first difficulty was

1600. to bring the cannon to bear on the place; the only road that led to it was extremely narrow, bordered on one ſide by the river Arc, of which the bank was all along perpendicularly ſteep, and on the other by impracticable rocks: they could with difficulty travel a league a day, becauſe they were every moment obliged to unharneſs the cannon, one of the wheels almoſt always running over the ſide of the precipice. We were certain at leaſt of favourable weather; for in this climate it is generally fair during the autumn; however, there now fell ſuch violent rains that the road was all under water, and the eight days, which I had thought ſufficient for the taking the place, had been almoſt wholly conſumed in bringing up the carriages. This was my excuſe in the council, againſt the malicious remark which the count of Soiſſons and others did not fail to make upon the promiſe I had given. The king, who that moment looked at me attentively, perceiving that my face was very red, and all overſpread with pimples, ran to me, and unbuttoning my cloaths, examined my neck and breaſt, crying, "Ah! my friend, you are very ill." He ſent immediately for Du-Laurens *, who, after examining thoſe pimples, ſaid, that by bleeding and taking a little care of myſelf they would be removed. I had, indeed, over-heated myſelf with labour; and, when in a violent ſweat, had been wet quite through my cloaths with the rain, without perceiving it. I was bled as ſoon as I got to my quarters, which were at Semoy: the king had his at Rochette, from whence he ſent Thermes the next day to know how I was; and was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that his meſſenger had found me on horſeback, viſiting my batteries.

Before I erected them, I was willing to take a more exact view of the place, beginning with Aiguebelle, for that was the name of the little city at the foot of the fort. It ſeemed to me that I was known every where, and that there was a general conſpiracy

* André Du-Laurens, the king's phyſician.

againſt

againſt me; for, as often as I appeared in view, a volley was diſcharged upon me. The rock upon which Charbonnieres is ſituated, appearing inacceſſible on all ſides, and not to be taken by the cannon, I was greatly afflicted: however, examining it more narrowly, I thought that I had found out a part where what ſeemed on the outſide a natural rock, might probably be a place filled up with earth covered with green turf. I repreſſed the joy this diſcovery gave me, till the night afforded me an opportunity of being convinced of it. I approached very near the wall, being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, and was tranſported with joy, when, upon trying the ground with my pike, I found that it went down as I deſired, and that this baſtion was ſuch as I had believed it to be. I was no longer in doubt on what ſide I ſhould batter the fort, and no difficulty now remained, but to find out ſome place proper for erecting theſe batteries; for Charbonnieres is, indeed, ſurrounded with mountains that command the town, but ſo ſteep that a man can hardly aſcend them on foot. I began again to creep along theſe mountains, which, in reality, had a terrible appearance, and all ſeemed wholly inacceſſable to the cannon, except one, upon the declivity of which I ſaw a road where it was not impoſſible but ſome pieces of cannon might be heaved up by main ſtrength. Unfortunately the acceſs to this road was by another which paſſed ſo near the fort, that they might pelt us from thence with ſtones. 1600.

This was another obſtacle, which did not, however, cool me in my attempt. I choſe out two hundred French, and as many Swiſs, to each of whom I promiſed a crown, provided they could, by this road, bring up ſix cannon, which I gave them, and mount them on an eminence that I pointed out to them. I pitched upon a very dark night for this work, recommending to them particularly, to make as little noiſe as poſſible; and, to prevent the beſieged from obſerving it, cauſed horſes and carmen to ad-

1600. vance in the oppoſite roads, whoſe cries and the ſmacking of the whips, drew all the enemy's fire to that ſide, but with no effect, for theſe carts were covered, in their march, by trees, gabions, and even by the walls, while my men that were employed in forcing up the cannon, eſcaped the notice of the beſieged, who were deafened with the noiſe of their own fire. I appointed La Vallée *, lieutenant of the ordnance in Brittany, and other officers, to watch over and encourage my men in this uncommon method of carriage. It rained ſo violently, that La Vallée and the reſt of the officers left their poſt to go to ſupper, and the ſoldiers their cannon, when they were got about half way. This was what I had expected; and, having taken that road, I met them in their retreat, and gave them a ſevere reprimand, threatening them that they ſhould have no pay for three months, and brought them all back that inſtant to their taſk, which they reſumed, and the cannon again began to move. I did not quit them till I ſaw them out of danger, which did not happen without receiving ſome check: their delay at length occaſioned their being diſcovered, and ſix were killed and eight wounded.

I got back to my quarters while it was yet dark, ſoaked through with the rain, and ſo diſguiſed with dirt, that I was not to be known, but full of joy that my ſix pieces of cannon were out of danger, though not yet upon the top of the rocks. I ſlept an hour, and breakfaſted, and returning to my work, met La Vallée, who, not knowing what I had done, began to value himſelf upon the performance of the night. The reproaches I loaded him with, while I contradicted what he ſaid, ought to have covered him with confuſion; but he was the moſt undaunted lyar I ever knew. "What! you have been there "then," ſaid he, without the ſmalleſt diſcompoſure. "Well, I ſincerely confeſs I am a fool." "You

* Michael de La Vallée Piquemouche, governor of Comper.

"are

" are ſo, indeed," replied I, " and ſomething worſe, 1600.
" but avoid ſuch a behaviour for the future, and
" repair your fault." It was not doubted, but the beſieged would endeavour to make themſelves amends for their being ſurpriſed; which did not hinder the cannon, by the mere force of my men's labour, without any aſſiſtance from the horſes, from being placed upon the rock at nine o'clock, where, during that time, I had made proviſion of gabions, planks, and every thing that was neceſſary to make platforms there.

But, when the gabions came to be filled, no earth was to be found within half a league of the place: all that could be got in this ſtubborn ground was ſtony, and could not be uſed for making port-holes and platforms, without running the danger of laming all who were employed in the work. The officers, for want of this uſual defence, ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the whole fire of the place, came, in great conſternation, to acquaint me with the condition they were in. I told them, without any appearance of emotion, that they ſhould begin directly the paliſade, which I had ordered them to erect along the borders of the rocks, making it very high and thick to deprive the enemies, at leaſt, of the ſight of the cannon, which otherwiſe they would be able to diſmount; and this was performed immediately, theſe mountains being almoſt all covered with wood. To ſupply the reſt, I ordered the carpenters, and pioniers of the army, to cut down two hundred large beech trees, which were cleaved into billets, ſome round, to fill up the gabions, others ſquare, to make a ſecure lodgment for the ſix pieces of cannon; and the better to conceal their laſt ſituation from the enemy, to which the branches of the paliſade greatly contributed, I contrived, that there ſhould be on each ſide ſeveral openings filled with baſkets of earth; upon which the enemy made a continual fire, without knowing at what part of the paliſado the artillery was placed, till the moment when we were prepared to

1600. diſmount the battery of the fort, and throw down the paliſade by which our cannon had been concealed. At two o'clock in the afternoon, this work was completed; and about an hour afterward his majeſty came to viſit it, and embracing me, aſſured me of the ſatisfaction it gave him. He ſaw no obſtacle that ſhould hinder us from beginning to batter the place. I repreſented to him, that it was ſtill neceſſary to delude the beſieged till night: this prince ſubmitted to my opinion, but the count of Soiſſons, d'Epernon, La Guiche, and Villeroi, who attended him, making obſervations that his cannon was pointed againſt a rock, on which it would be uſeleſs to loſe more time, Henry came to me and ſaid, that he would have them fire, that inſtant, ſome vollies upon the oppoſite ravelin: again I conteſted this point with him, and perhaps with rather too much heat; for it gave me great uneaſineſs to ſee a work, that had coſt me ſo much labour, likely to be ruined by too much precipitation. My reſiſtance put Henry into a paſſion, and he again, and in a very abſolute manner, commanded me to obey him, even adding, that I forgot he was the maſter. "Yes, ſire," replied I immediately, "you are the "maſter, and ſhall be obeyed, though at the ex- "pence of ruining every thing." I cauſed the paliſade to be thrown down, and gave orders that they ſhould fire, but I would not be a witneſs of it, and withdrew in great diſcontent. As the guns were not aimed, every body took upon them to direct them according to his own mind, but no one hit the right place. After a hundred ineffectual diſcharges, the king ſent La Gueſle for me, to complain to me of the faults of my batteries. I replied, that I intreated his majeſty would excuſe me, for it being now ſunſet, it was no longer time to undertake any thing. His majeſty ordered the firing to ceaſe, and every one withdrawing, I came and lay in the midſt of my batteries, which I cauſed to be completed during the remainder of the night, notwithſtanding the rain

that

that fell in great abundance. The beſieged, on their 1600.
ſide, laboured as hard, and were not without ſome apprehenſions that they ſhould find the place, to which they gave the moſt attention, defective: I judged ſo by the fires and candles which I ſaw lighted up in the fort, and contented myſelf with interrupting their ſecurity, by firing ſome diſcharges from time to time.

At the break of day, there aroſe ſo thick a fog, that, at ſix o'clock, the fort could not be ſeen: this unlucky accident gave me great uneaſineſs, becauſe all my batteries were ready; and I had boaſted over night, that I would take Charbonnieres the next day. I fancied, however, that the agitation of the air, occaſioned by the cannon, might poſſibly diſperſe the fog, and I cauſed ſome vollies to be fired. Either by chance, or by a natural effect, that which I had jeſtingly propoſed, ſucceeded almoſt beyond my hopes. No ſooner had the reſt of the artillery anſwered the cannon from the top of the mountain, than the fog wholly diſappeared. The beſieged had been all night employed in erecting a battery of four pieces of cannon over-againſt my ſix, which the imprudence committed the day before had diſcovered to them, and which at that inſtant, they endeavoured to diſmount. I found that there was no time to be given them, and cauſed a piece to be pointed directly oppoſite to their port-holes, which rendered two of their four cannons uſeleſs, killed one gunner, and wounded two others: but this did not happen till after their diſcharge had killed, on our ſide, ſix gunners and two pioniers, and at length made our pieces uſeleſs, till they were diſlodged from thence.

The king ran thither, upon the noiſe, at nine o'clock, and ordered his dinner to be brought to a place which I had contrived in ſuch a manner, that he might ſee every thing that paſſed without danger. This was an encloſure made with the largeſt trees, laid at their length one upon another, in the form of

1600. a rampart. I ſhewed his majeſty the bodies of thoſe that had been juſt killed, and made him ſenſible, that this was the conſequence of the bad counſel that was followed the day before. I did not ſay this without deſign, perceiving that the ſame perſons continued ſtill to find fault with my work, and to prejudice his majeſty againſt me. I did not ſuffer myſelf to be at all diſcompoſed with their obſervations, and told them haughtily, that, not having yet eat any thing, though I had laboured hard all night, I would leave the place free to any of them that were deſirous of playing the grand maſter of the ordnance, but that, at my return, if they did not permit me to order my batteries as I pleaſed, I would abandon them entirely. My table, as grand maſter, conſiſted of forty covers, and was placed under a kind of half arch, formed by nature in the rock, and hung with ivy. The king ſent me a large trout pye, which was ſent him from Geneva. My dinner was ſoon over, and I went again to intreat his majeſty that he would ſuffer me to perform the duties of my employment alone, and renewed my promiſes that I would make him maſter of Charbonnieres that day. The king replied, that he would be contented if it was taken in three days: upon which La Gueſle ſaid, that, if he was in the place, he ſhould know how to hinder it from being taken in a month. Go there then, ſaid I to them all, fatigued with their impertinence, and if I do not hang you all to-day, let me paſs for a boaſter.

The king then withdrew into his encloſure, and delivered me from the importunate preſence of his courtiers for three hours, which he paſſed in waiting for his dinner, at table, and in ſurveying the park of artillery. At the end of this time, I ſaw him come back with the count of Soiſſons, to whom he ſaid loud enough for me to hear, "This place "will not be taken to-day." The count anſwered, with great complaiſance, That his majeſty, who had more knowledge of war than any perſon whatſoever, ought

ought to make uſe of his authority to force me to obey, inſtead of waſting time in battering a rock, which could not be hurt by the cannon. I had my revenge that inſtant. The king came juſt at the time that the enemy beat a parley, and the lieutenant of the place came out to treat with me. I intreated his majeſty to have no part in the capitulation; and I told the lieutenant that he might go back again, for I was reſolved that the garriſon ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. The lieutenant returned with a perſonated boldneſs, ſaying, that there were ſtill two hundred men in the fort who were able to hold it out eight days longer. Henry withdrew, leaving Leſdiguieres and Villeroi with me, who perſuaded me to accept of the conditions offered by the beſieged. Leſdiguieres even carried me towards the fort, to ſhew me that the enemies were not reduced to extremity. I ſtopped him when he came within two or three hundred paces of the curtain, telling him, that it would be raſhneſs to expoſe himſelf to the mouth of the cannon of the fort; and I withdrew to a rock a hundred paces diſtant, which ſerved me as a ſhelter, while theſe gentlemen very unſeaſonably rallied me for my caution: but they ſoon changed their tone when a terrible fire obliged them to follow me. 1600.

The lieutenant of the fort returned a ſecond time, but with propoſals little different from the former. I ſent him back without hearing him: upon which Villeroi ſaid, That, if the city failed of being taken that day, he could not diſpenſe with himſelf from acquainting the king that it was owing wholly to me. I pretended not to hear him: and, ſending the beſieged my laſt reſolutions in writing, ordered the artillery again to play: the ſecond diſcharge ſet fire to the powder of the beſieged, and killed twenty or twenty-five of their men, and ſix or ſeven women; at the third, the little ravelin fell down entirely, and they could no longer bring any aſſiſtance to the breach, becauſe the cannon, ſweeping along a low path

1600. path that led to it, at every fire deſtroyed ſome of their beſt ſoldiers. This made them reſolve to beat a parley once more, which I pretended not to hear, although I ſaw their drummer carried up in the air at the heighth of twelve feet, by a cannon ball which entered the ground where he ſtood, but did him no other hurt. The beſieged then held up a pike, with a flag faſtened to the top, crying out that they ſurrendered, and implored us to ceaſe firing. Yet the artillery continued to play, till the enemies, holding out their hands over the breach to our ſoldiers, I was afraid ſome French would be killed amongſt them. I then mounted my horſe and entered the city on full gallop. It was lawful to treat it as one carried by aſſault; but that heart muſt be wholly impenetrable to compaſſion, that could not be ſoftened by a ſight ſo truly pitiable as now preſented itſelf: it was the women, the wounded, and thoſe that were ſcorched by the fire, who came and threw themſelves at my feet. I never in any other place beheld the ſex ſo lovely as in this city, nor ſo finiſhed a beauty as one woman in particular who came to implore my mercy: inſtead of executing my threat, to hang all the inhabitants, I gave the ſame conditions I had offered at firſt, and cauſed the garriſon to be conducted to a place of ſecurity which I had appointed for them.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs with Charbonnieres, I ſtill found great oppoſition in the council to my propoſal of attacking the caſtle of Montmelian. The debate ran very high: "Take care what you do," ſaid his majeſty to me, prejudiced by the great number that diſapproved of the attempt, "for if we are "obliged to raiſe the ſiege, every one will exclaim "againſt you, and I poſſibly ſhall be amongſt the "firſt." They were not ſenſible at that time what a ſtrong train of artillery, well conducted, was able to do at a ſiege: what had happened at Charbonnieres had ſo confirmed me in my opinion on that head, that I did not ſcruple to engage that I would carry Montmelian in five weeks, as I had already promiſed

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in a former council: I ſtipulated only for one condition, which his majeſty could not deny me, becauſe he had accepted it, without its being named, and this was, that he ſhould not be preſent at the ſiege. I foreſaw that it would be very bloody. I produced a plan of the fortreſs, and of the attack; and every one agreeing that I ſhould make the attempt, I laid ſiege to the caſtle of Montmelian. 1600.

This caſtle is ſituated on a rock almoſt as hard as that of Charbonnieres, and ſo high, that it commands the whole country about it; ſteep and inacceſſible on all ſides except that next the city, where the aſcent is leſs difficult, but on which, to make amends, there runs a ditch, cut in the rock itſelf, and which muſt have been done with infinite labour with the point of a ſharp chiſſel; beſides which, there were three baſtions, that could neither be ſapped nor undermined, their foundations being of rock itſelf, almoſt impenetrable, and above a toiſe and a half deep. The country is ſtrewed with ſeveral mountains, but ſome are ſo diſtant, that they appeared to be abſolutely out of the reach of cannon, and the rocks that are neareſt are ſo ſteep and pointed at the top, and ſo rugged and bare, that far from being poſſible to carry up and make uſe of cannon, it is difficult to believe that a man could climb up. The caſtle was then provided with thirty pieces of cannon, with powder for eight thouſand vollies at leaſt, a proportionable garriſon, and ammunition in great abundance.

The firſt thought that occurred to my mind, and ſupported it againſt obſtacles in appearance unſurmountable, was, that however ſolid and continued the rock ſeemed to be, upon which, or rather in which, the baſtions were raiſed, it was not poſſible that it ſhould be all of equal hardneſs; and if one part of it only was ever ſo little weaker than the reſt, the artillery I had would ſecure me the means of opening a paſſage through it. In order to be convinced, I began to open the trenches before the baſtion

1600. ſtion called Mauvoiſin; for otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible to have approached near enough to diſcern whether this whole maſs was an entire rock, cut with a chiſſel; but the rock which we found even with the ground hindered us from carrying on the trenches.

I was obliged to have recourſe to artifice; and one very dark night cauſed a hut to be built with clay, and thatched over, very near this baſtion, and ſo low that it could not be thrown down by the cannon: it was ſhot through and through with the ſmall arms as ſoon as the day diſcovered it to the beſieged; but it was not overturned, and none of our men were in it. I ſuffered the enemy to diſcharge their rage for ſome days upon this hut, till of themſelves they ſhould ceaſe to fire; which at length they did, ſuppoſing it had been built there to make them ſpend their powder in vain. When I found the beſieged neglected it, I entered it in the night, taking no other arms with me but a buckler, with which, upon occaſion, I could entirely cover my body againſt the fire. From this hut I carefully examined the whole baſtion; I perceived there a light at the bottom, from whence I concluded that it was hollow, and that it was not an entire rock which could be cut into ſo deep. Without doubt the beſieged were then making ſome repairs there. The day beginning to appear, I perceived likewiſe that the flank was uncovered; and this was proof that it was not a ſolid rock that formed either; and that this flank preſented itſelf naked, and eaſy to be pierced with the cannon. I was now ſatisfied, and had no other care but how to get out ſafely, which in broad day could not be done without difficulty, the hut not being above a hundred paces diſtant from the parapet, which was lined with ſoldiers, and I had above two hundred to go before I could ſhelter myſelf. I ſeized that moment when the guards being relieved, the ſoldiers began to be careleſs, and leaving my buckler in the hut, I began to run as faſt as I was able;

able; four centinels perceiving me, cried out, and fired upon me at the ſame time; their muſquet-ſhot whiſtled about my ears and covered me with gravel and flint ſtones, but did not wound me; before the other ſoldiers were ready, I had gained the neareſt lodgment. 1600.

I had at firſt reſolved to place a battery of cannon on an eminence on the ſide of the Iſere, where they might be carried up more eaſily by the help of ſteps cut by the hands of men; but having obſerved, on the oppoſite ſide of the water, another eminence which faced the citadel, and which had this advantage, that from thence might be ſeen the road that led to the walls of the caſtle, and to the magazine, the entrance of the tower, and the guard houſe: I preferred this laſt, and conſidered upon the means to carry up ſix pieces of cannon. This eminence was perpendicularly ſteep on all ſides but one, and even this ſide of the aſcent was a league about: but this was not the greateſt difficulty; to plant them there we muſt level rocks of ſuch hardneſs, that moſt of the officers thought the enterprize ridiculous.

The enemies were not of the ſame opinion: as ſoon as they found that we had undertaken to make a lodgment upon the edge of the rock, they pointed ſix pieces of cannon there likewiſe, and made a continual fire: the firſt volly was ſhot one day when I was giving directions about the works, with my ſtaff of command in my hand, dreſſed in a green coat laced with gold, and a plume of green and white feathers upon my head. I obſerved that this ſhot had paſſed a good deal above my head, and that which followed it as much below: perceiving that they were going to fire a third time, I ſaid to Leſine, Maignan, and Feugeres, that this would be between both, and that, without doubt, the beſieged having perceived me would take an exact aim. I retired two or three ſteps behind a ſhelving part of the rock, from whence I held my pike in one hand fixed in the place where I had ſtood myſelf; one ball threw down

1600. down the pike, the others killed three pioniers and two gunners, and broke ſome glaſſes and bottles that had been brought for a refreſhment, and were placed in a hole of the rock. This accident was related to his majeſty, as an inſtance of raſhneſs in me; and he wrote to me immediately, that my perſon being ſtill more neceſſary to him for the buſineſs of the ſtate than war, he deſired that I would not act like a meer ſoldier of fortune, who had a reputation to raiſe; and that he would recal me, if I diſobeyed this command.

Henry could not reſiſt the deſire he had to ſee the diſpoſition of this ſiege, and wrote to me a ſecond time, deſiring I would diſpenſe with the promiſe he had given me to the contrary, aſſuring me, that he would go to thoſe places only that I ſhould appoint, and with no other attendants than the count of Soiſſons, D'Epernon, Bellegarde, and me. I entreated him at leaſt to diſguiſe himſelf in an ordinary cloak; and, above all, to ſhun, at the expence of going half a league about, a certain field, ſtrewed over with flint ſtones, oppoſite to which the beſieged kept a party of thirty or forty ſoldiers continually, armed with muſquets; and ten or twelve pieces of cannon were pointed there, becauſe they knew that our men paſſed every moment through this field, to go to the new battery raiſed upon the rock. I did not doubt but that he would have complied with this requeſt; but when he was upon the ſpot, he could not reſolve to uſe this precaution; and my intreaties being ineffectual, we marched all five in a file. Some muſquet-ſhot that we were expoſed to at firſt made two or three of the company look pale; but it was much worſe when we entered the field; there was at once ſo terrible a diſcharge of the heavy cannon and ſmall-ſhot, that we ſaw ourſelves in a moment all covered with earth, and our ſkin ſcratched with a ſhower of thoſe little flint-ſtones. Henry making the ſign of the croſs, "It is now, ſaid I, that I acknowledge you to be a good catholic." "Let

" us go, ſaid he, this is a bad place." We doubled our pace, eſteeming it a ſingular piece of good fortune that none of us were killed, or at leaſt lamed. No one thought of returning the ſame way, but took the road from the mountains, where I cauſed horſes to be brought for the company. 1600.

The king was a little aſhamed of his unneceſſary raſhneſs, which was the cauſe, that ſome days afterwards, when I ſent him notice that all my batteries were finiſhed, his majeſty, who was then returned to the Tarantaiſe, having an inclination to ſee them, ordered me to make a truce for ſome hours with the governor. The king's curioſity being ſatisfied, I was ſeized with an inclination to exert the prerogative of a grand maſter exerciſing his office in the royal preſence; but as this could not be done without a diſcharge of the artillery, which would have been conſidered as an infraction of the truce, which was not yet expired, to induce the beſieged to break it I ordered ſome commiſſaries to ſend certain ammunitions to the battery upon the rock, which they had an occaſion for there. The enemy, who had not loſt any part of their fierceneſs, and probably repented of having granted the truce, cried out that it was violated, and that they were going to fire. Accordingly, they fired twelve or fifteen cannon-ſhot. I had given my men orders, in caſe this happened, to hold themſelves in readineſs to anſwer them immediately by a general diſcharge. This was the firſt, and afforded matter for ſerious reflection to the beſieged, when they ſaw their tower battered by fifty cannon: they were the firſt to demand a continuation of the truce; eſpecially when a ſecond diſcharge ſucceeded ſo rapidly. From that moment they began to alter their opinion, that the citadel was impregnable, and privately ſought out ways to procure an honourable compoſition.

Two women were by chance the firſt movers * of

* The hiſtorian who has given us the life of the duke d'Epernon, aſcribes to him the honour of taking Montmelian.

this

1600. this accommodation. Madam de Brandis, wife to the governor of Montmelian, and then with him in the caſtle, amuſed herſelf with making little glaſs toys and pieces of chair work. My wife being then in the town, ſhe ſent her a pair of ear-rings and two chains of exquiſite workmanſhip. Madam de Roſny, in return, ſent her wine and veniſon, and deſired to know if it was not poſſible for them to ſee each other: they obtained permiſſion for it, and paſſed three afternoons together with ſuch familiarity, that at length they began to conſider how Montmelian might be ſurrendered with honour. Each acquainted her huſband with the ſubject of their converſations, and we were ſo far from oppoſing them, that they were authoriſed to go on, but concealed from one another that they acted by permiſſion. Madam de Brandis had an indiſpoſition that made the country air neceſſary for her. Her huſband thought he could procure this favour through the interpoſition of my wife; and ſhe made ſo reaſonable a repreſentation to him of the condition to which he would be ſoon reduced, without being able to obtain honourable terms afterwards, that he conſented to treat with me, and ſent me a deputation for that purpoſe. I diſpatched notice of it to the king, who propoſed it to his council; and it was there reſolved, that a month ſhould be granted to the governor, after which, if he was not relieved, the place ſhould be ſurrendered. I was very ſure that it could not hold out ſo long, and that it was relying too much upon the doubtful ſincerity of an enemy to grant ſuch conditions. I gave my opinion freely, but it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe a reſolution in which envy had as great a ſhare as fear.

The king did not begin to repent of having followed the counſels of marechal Biron and d'Epernon rather than mine, till, a little while before the expiration of the time granted to the beſieged, a report was ſpread, that an army of twenty-five thouſand men was coming over the Alps to their aſſiſtance.

The king acquainted me with the perplexity into which this news threw him: he was determined to meet the enemies and fight them; but he was ſenſible of the danger he ran, in leaving behind him ſuch a fortreſs as Montmelian. He aſked me if by ſome means or other there was not a poſſibility of putting him in poſſeſſion of it before that time. Difficult as it appeared, it was nevertheleſs accompliſhed, and in this manner. 1600.

Ever ſince the ſuſpenſion of arms, the count of Brandis ſuffered all ſtrangers to enter his caſtle who brought proviſions and neceſſaries which the wounded, and even madam de Brandis herſelf, had occaſion for. As there was only one gate to enter by, the crowd was often ſo great that ſome blows paſſed between them; for which the governor could not chaſtiſe them, becauſe there were a great many Frenchmen amongſt them, and therefore intreated me to apply a remedy to this inconvenience: and I now believed that I had found the opportunity I ſought for. I placed a guard of fifty choſen men at the gate of the caſtle, commanded by officers, who, being informed of my deſign, accuſtomed the guards of the caſtle to ſee them enter it at firſt three or four only in number, afterwards more, till at length, the garriſon not daring any longer either to hinder or fire upon them, they found themſelves almoſt maſters of the caſtle itſelf, without giving them any aſſiſtance; but, on the contrary, inſtead of leſſening the diſorder, theſe French did all they could to increaſe it.

Brandis imputed all to the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and complained to me of it. I told him, that he might fall upon all thoſe ſtrangers, whom I ſuppoſed to be country people. He replied, that he would have done ſo, but for the great number of my ſoldiers that were amongſt them; and that rather than do them any violence, although without any intention to break the conditions, he choſe to confide to me the care of putting an end to the diſorder. I ſeemed to yield to this expedient (which was what I

1600. moſt ardently wiſhed) only to reſtore order and quiet, and told the governor, that I could eaſily accompliſh it, if I had a guard within equal to that without: he conſented to it, and I cauſed fifty ſoldiers to enter; but theſe were not all, thirty had got in before, and a much greater number had ſlipt in with them; I came thither myſelf likewiſe, with all my train: and from that time our party was ſo ſtrong, that the fort and part of the tower was at our diſpoſal.

Brandis then found the fault he had committed, but could repair it no otherwiſe than by ſhewing himſelf ſtill more generous. He came to me and told me, that he conſented I ſhould take poſſeſſion of the tower, and that he remitted it wholly upon the ſecurity of my word. I reſolved not to abuſe his confidence, and faithfully obſerved all the articles. I ſupped and lay in the tower that night; and the next day after that in which I had received this commiſſion from the king, I went to tell him, that without any fears from Montmelian, he might march to meet his enemies; which he did in good order, and at the head of his army; but the information he had received was found to be falſe.

The garriſon of Montmelian marched out after the month was elapſed, and yielded the place to his majeſty, who commanded me to ſettle Crequy there with his company. The garriſon was reinforced, and provided with great plenty of ammunition of all kinds. I would have perſuaded the king to have diſmantled this place, as it muſt undoubtedly be reſtored to the duke of Savoy in caſe of a peace; and to have done the ſame by all the other conquered fortreſſes: but the advice of the courtiers, who all ſeemed to be in the pay of the duke, ſaved Montmelian from a treatment that good policy required.

The myſtery of this conduct with regard to Montmelian, as well as many other things, was explained two years afterwards, by the diſcovery of ſome letters of marechal Biron in cyphers: he told the duke of Savoy, to whom they were addreſſed, that he had obtained

obtained a month for the garriſon of Montmelian, 1600.
to give him time to raiſe the ſiege: that he had nothing to expect from his friends, unleſs he made an effort to ſave this place, which could hold out three months longer; and aſſured him, that the reduction of it would give him great concern. In the letter he wrote to this prince after the caſtle was taken, he tells him, that his negligence in ſuccouring it had ſilenced the French lords in his party, who would have declared againſt the king, if, by advancing to join them, he had put it in their power to do ſo with ſafety. Notwithſtanding the caution he obſerved in not writing their names, they were all ſo well deſcribed that it was not difficult to know them. The ſilence I keep with regard to theſe names, is only in favour of ſome whom the public perhaps has not ſuſpected.

Montmelian was not yet ſurrendered, when it was reported in the French army that cardinal Aldobrandin, the pope's nephew and legate, was on his way to come and treat with his majeſty concerning a peace and his marriage. The king having appointed me to go and receive his eminence with all imaginable honours, I advanced to meet him with a body of 3000 foot, and 500 troopers, all ſpruce fellows. It was not difficult for him to perceive that it was the grand maſter of the ordnance who waited for him, by the manner in which he was received at his approach to Montmelian, the truce affording me an opportunity to make uſe of the artillery of the place as if it had been my own. Upon this occaſion I joined them together, to pay him the greater honour: the ſignal was given by a white flag raiſed on the battery of the rock: mine began after a great fire of the ſmall-ſhot, and was anſwered by that of the caſtle, in ſuch a manner, that both having time to load again, this double diſcharge of an hundred and ſeventy cannons, performed with the utmoſt regularity, and multiplied by the echoes formed amidſt the mountains, had the nobleſt effect imaginable,

1600. though not in the legate's opinion, I believe, who was more frightened than ſoothed, by an honour ſo magnificently dreadful, believing all the mountains about him were going to fall down, and had ſeveral times recourſe to the ſign of the croſs.

I carried the cardinal to dinner at Notre Dame de Miens, and forewarned him of two things relating to the buſineſs he mentioned to me; one was, that he ſhould give no credit to any of thoſe perſons who would make a boaſt to him of their intereſt with his majeſty; the other, that if they promiſed him to get all the places taken from the duke of Savoy to be reſtored without being demoliſhed, he ſhould believe them ſtill leſs, for he might be aſſured this would never happen. After this caution, I reſigned him freely to thoſe ſent by his majeſty to fetch him, and continued my hoſtilities, by beſieging the citadels of Bourg and fort Saint-Catherine.

The latter was attacked before the other, at the intreaty of the citizens of Geneva, whom the king was glad of an opportunity to oblige. Upon our arrival at this fort, which is ſituated on a riſing ground, in an open field, of which it ſeems to be the centre, marechal Biron, who by chance was near me, aſked me to go that inſtant, on horſeback as we were, and reconnoitre the place with him. I told him that we were too gayly dreſſed, and had too many plumes on, to examine it in open day: for the marechal was mounted on a white horſe, and wore a large plume of feathers of the ſame colour. "No, no, ſaid he, you need not be under any ap- "prehenſion: morbieu! they will not dare to fire "upon us." "Let us go then, replied I, if you "will, for if it rains upon me it will ſprinkle upon "you." Accordingly, we came within two hun- "dred paces of the fort, and obſerved it a long time, while they only fired twelve or fifteen vollies of ſmall-ſhot, and I believe in the air, although we were about twenty horſe; which ſurpriſed me greatly. "Certainly, ſir, ſaid I to the marechal, there

" is no one within, or they are aſleep, or afraid of 1600.
" us." The king could with difficulty believe this, becauſe being there himſelf the day before, with ſix horſe only, they fired repeated vollies at his approach; and when I returned the next morning at the break of day, on foot, and with no other company than Erard and Feugeres, I was received with ſo great a noiſe of the artillery, that the king ſent Monteſpan thither, believing it was a ſally. "Whom " are theſe follows aiming at?" ſaid Monteſpan to me, finding no-body in ſight. " At me, I be- " lieve, replied I, but I have ſeen all that I wanted " to ſee." However, I gueſſed ſoon after the reaſon of that reſpect which they ſhewed marechal Biron. I perceived that the flank of the baſtions of Saint-Catherine were ſo bad that great part of them had fallen down, and that the ditch was in no better a condition. I aſſured his majeſty, that as ſoon as the trenches were carried to the extremity of the ditch the place would ſurrender. In effect, the beſieged, who were likewiſe in want of every thing, demanded to capitulate, if they were not ſuccoured in ſix days.

After I had opened the trench, I deſired leave from the king to make a tour to Geneva: I arrived there the next day, with an hundred horſe, and came very ſeaſonably to relieve this city from the terrors which the preſence of a great number of catholics within their walls occaſioned. Meſſieurs de Guiſe, d'Elbeuf, d'Epernon, de Biron, de la Guiche, and many others, were there, with their ſeveral attendants. I aſſured them, that his majeſty had their intereſt at heart, and that I would not leave them while thoſe gentlemen continued amongſt them: but the remembrance of the late perſecutions was yet too recent in the minds of the citizens; they could not be ſatisfied till I had removed the occaſion of their fears; which I did that evening by ſpeaking to thoſe gentlemen, who all left Geneva the next day. The city deputed twelve of their chief citizens, with Beza, their miniſter, at their head, to compliment his ma-

1600. jeſty, and to endeavour to obtain a requeſt that they kept very ſecret; this was, the demolition of fort Saint-Catherine, which they were moſt ardently deſirous of. Beza delivered himſelf like a man of ſenſe, and one who knew how to praiſe with delicacy; congratulating the proteſtants upon the happineſs which the reign of ſo good a prince promiſed them. Henry thanked the deputies and the city, offering to beſtow upon it any of his conqueſts which ſhould be moſt convenient for it; and preventing their requeſt, told them in a low voice, that they ſhould have the pleaſure to be maſters of the fate of fort Saint-Catherine; and that he gave them his word, in my preſence (for he held me by the hand at the ſame time) that no intreaties whatſoever ſhould hinder him from razing it. Upon which the deputies withdrew, extremely well pleaſed.

His majeſty, at cardinal Aldobrandin's requeſt, conſented that the conferences on the ſubject of a peace ſhould be held at Lyons, and appointed the cardinal Du-Perron, the conſtable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and Jeannin, to treat with the legate: they had yet come to no agreement, when the future queen * arrived in that city. As ſoon as the king

* This princeſs left Florence on the 17th of October, having embarked at Leghorn, and, with an eſcort of ſeventeen galleys, landed at Toulon, from whence ſhe came by the way of Marſeilles and Avignon to Lyons, where the king arrived poſt on the 9th of November. As ſoon as he alighted (I take the following account from the moſt authentic Memoirs of thoſe times) the queen happened to be at ſupper; and having a deſire to ſee her at table without being diſcovered, he went in as far as the drawing-room, which was very much crouded; but he was known the moment he appeared by thoſe neareſt the door, who opened to make way for him: upon which, his majeſty went away directly, without going farther. The queen, in the mean time, was well aware of all this, but ſtill gave no other ſigns than by putting the plates away as often as ſhe was ſerved with any thing, and eat ſo little, that ſhe ſeemed to have ſat down rather for form's ſake than to ſup. After the table was removed, ſhe returned immediately to her chamber. The king, who waited only for this, came to her chamber door, and ordering M. le Grand to go before, he knocked ſo hard, that the queen thought it muſt be the king: upon this ſhe ſtept forward at the very inſtant that M. le Grand entered the room, who was followed by his majeſty, at whoſe feet ſhe immediately threw herſelf. The king raiſed her up, embraced her with great tenderneſs,

was informed of it he quitted his quarters, and ſet out in very rainy weather, riding poſt, with great part of the lords of his court. It was twelve o'clock at night when we got to the bridge of Lyons, and waited there a full hour, wet through with the rain, and almoſt periſhed with cold, before they would open the gate; for his majeſty, that he might have the pleaſure of ſurprizing the queen, would not ſuffer himſelf to be named. They had not yet ſeen each other. The marriage ceremony was performed without any pomp. We attended the king at ſupper, who afterwards diſmiſſed us to refreſh ourſelves likewiſe; and he retired to the queen's apartment. 1600.

His majeſty's arrival only increaſed the warmth with which they conteſted the articles of the peace: the plenipotentiaries were almoſt all in the duke of Savoy's intereſt, and glad of an opportunity to make their court to the legate; which was the cauſe that Henry thought it neceſſary to make them give an account of their negotiation, and ſeverely blamed the commiſſioners for having exceeded the power that was given them. Bellievre and Villeroi had promiſed the legate, that none of the fortreſſes which had been taken ſhould be demoliſhed, but eſpecially Saint-Catherine, for which the legate particularly ſolicited, as being the beſt, and even the only bulwark the duke of Savoy had againſt the republic of Geneva. Henry made them ſenſible, that their pre-

and all that was polite, paſſionate, and reſpectful, paſſed on both ſides. After the firſt compliments were over, the king took her hand, and led her to the fire-place, where he continued talking with her above half an hour; he afterwards went to ſupper, but eat very ſparingly. In the mean time, he bid madam de Nemours tell the queen, that he had not provided himſelf with a bed, expecting ſhe would give him part of hers, which from that time was to be in common between them. Madam de Nemours carrying this meſſage to the queen, ſhe returned for anſwer, That ſhe had come thither only to obey his majeſty as the humbleſt of his ſervants. Upon this, the king undreſſed, and went directly to the queen's chamber, who by this time was in bed. Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600. where alſo may be ſeen the particulars of the queen's journey, and her reception in the towns of France, &c. De Thou, liv. 125. Matthieu, tom. II. p. 378.

1600. cipitation in ſubſcribing to an article of this importance without conſulting him, had given him ſome ſuſpicion of them; and added, that in a few days he would acquaint them with his intentions upon that head. Then ſending for me, he told me, that the ſhorteſt way to prevent the ſolicitation which he expected from the legate, would be to blow up the five baſtions of the fort, and to ſend word to the citizens of Geneva to come and complete the demolition of it. No order was ever more expeditiouſly nor more effectually executed. The Genevois, in one night, laid this citadel even with the ground, and carried away all the materials ſo carefully, that the next day it could with difficulty have been believed that there ever had been a fort in the place; and at firſt the report ran, that it was deſtroyed by lightning. When the truth was known, the legate expreſſed great reſentment at it, and did not ſcruple to confeſs, in the heat of his paſſion, that I was the only perſon who had not deceived him with flattering hopes on this head, and that he had not ſufficiently attended to my admonitions. But his having, upon the faith of the commiſſioners, given very different expectations to the pope, was what he was chiefly concerned at. For three or four days the negotiation was entirely broke off; and when it was afterwards reſumed, it was with ſo much animoſity on his eminence's part, that he rejected all the propoſitions that were made him. Theſe propoſitions were, That the duke of Savoy ſhould yield to the king the courſe of the river Rhone and its borders: That he ſhould not erect any fort within a league of it to favour the Spaniards paſſage: That he ſhould leave to the republic of Geneva the enjoyment of certain villages ſpecified likewiſe: That Bêche-Dauphin* ſhould be demoliſhed, Chateau-Dauphin reſtored: and laſtly, that the duke ſhould pay a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns for the expences of the war.

* Frontier of Dauphiné.

The

The king looking upon this affair as wholly impracticable, through the obſtinacy of the legate, reſolved to carry on the war more vigorouſly than before, and communicated his deſign to me, which was, to go in ſearch of the duke of Savoy at the head of his army; while I, with the artillery, battered the citadel of Bourg. Each of us had particular obſtacles to this double project, beſides the want of money, which was common to both. I found the enterpriſe on Bourg very difficult to be executed, the ſeaſon being now ſo far advanced: the difference between this caſtle and that of Montmelian, with which I think it may be compared, is this, that for thoſe that have only ten or twelve pieces of cannon, Montmelian is equivalent to ten ſuch places as Bourg, becauſe that the reduction of Montmelian depends upon having artillery ſufficient to batter the out-works; but for an army ſixty cannon ſtrong, the citadel of Montmelian is not more difficult to carry than that of Bourg; becauſe this laſt being more regular than the other, it can only be attacked methodically and by ſlow degrees. Had the counſel I gave, to attack this fort immediately after the ſurrender of Montmelian, been followed, it would have been now in the king's poſſeſſion. 1600.

With regard to this prince, his perplexity was occaſioned by his knowing in what manner the greateſt part of his general officers conſpired with Spain and the duke of Savoy againſt him: he had great reaſon to be apprehenſive of engaging himſelf in the enemy's country, if they were with him: Leſdiguieres was the only one on whom he could depend; he had lately given an inſtance of his fidelity, in ſending notice by Calignon, that the duke of Bouillon made uſe of a man named Ondevous to carry on his correſpondence with the great lords of the kingdom. It is certain, that if Calignon had been more diligent to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion, Ondevous would not have had time to eſcape as he did, and

1600. and his detention might have laid open all the ſchemes of the ſeditious; but there is no appearance that this happened through the fault of Leſdiguieres. I adviſed the king to rely entirely upon him, and to bind him ſtill cloſer to his ſervice, by making him a marechal of France, and governor of Piedmont. As for the reſt, it was eaſy to prevent the conſequences of their ill intentions, by giving them employments at a diſtance from the body of the army.

But the affair that appeared moſt preſſing to us both, being to procure a ſupply of money, it was reſolved that I ſhould ſet out for Paris in four days: and that I might be enabled to paſs ſix entire weeks there, I employed theſe four days in making all the neceſſary preparations for the attack of Bourg, in paying the ſoldiers out of what little money remained, and in providing for the ordinary as well as extraordinary expences of the king's houſhold. The very next day I ſent away my wife and my equipages before me, with directions to wait for me at Rouanne, where I propoſed, as ſoon as I arrived, to ſend them down the Loire as far as Orleans: they waited there for me three or four days longer, becauſe my meaſures were broke by the alterations that happened in the affair of the peace.

When I went to take leave of the king, he adviſed me to viſit the legate alſo before I ſet out, he having always expreſſed great eſteem for me. I went to viſit him booted, my poſt-horſes waiting for me on the other ſide of the river, oppoſite to his lodgings. He aſked me where I was going in that equipage? "To Italy, replied I; and I ſhall go with "good company to kiſs the pope's foot." "How! "to Italy?" ſaid he, in great amazement; "no, "that muſt not be, ſir; I beg you will aſſiſt me to "renew this peace." I ſeemed to conſent, in reſpect only to his mediation, the king having laid aſide all thoughts of it. I repeated, in a few words, all the principal articles that had been already propoſed,

poſed, and afterwards aſked him if he would give credit to what I was going to ſay to him? Having aſſured me he would, I told him, that he might be abſolutely certain, that of theſe articles, his majeſty would abate none of his demands with regard to the borders of the Rhone, the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, Chateau-Dauphin, and Beche-Dauphin; becauſe I was well acquainted with the king's intentions in all theſe reſpects. He deſired to know my reaſons: which I excuſed myſelf from telling him, on account of the ſhort time I had to ſtay. After walking, thoughtfully, ſeveral times backwards and forwards in his chamber, he aſked me if, with the ſame proteſtations of ſincerity, I would aſſure him, that, provided he agreed to all theſe points, there ſhould be no mention made of the other. I told him, that I believed I might promiſe this. Upon which, he entreated me to go and acquaint the king with what he had ſaid. Henry was glad to ſee me come back: and I returned a moment afterwards to the legate with full powers from his majeſty. And we concluded that * inſtant a treaty which had languiſhed ſo long a time; the conditions of which were as follows. 1600.

The duke of Savoy, in exchange for the marquiſate of Saluces, which the king of France gave up, was to make a ceſſion to his majeſty of the fortreſſes of Cental, Monts, and Roqueſparviere, all Breſſe entirely, the borders and country of the Rhone on both ſides as far as Lyons, except the bridge of Grezin, and ſome paſſages neceſſary for his highneſs to enter Franche-Comté; but he was not by this ceſſion to acquire a right to raiſe any tribute from theſe places, or to build any fort there, or to ferry troops over, but by the king's permiſſion, and on condition that for this privilege of paſſing the bridge of Grezin the duke ſhould pay

* M. De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chron. Sept. agree with this account, ib. an. 1601. See alſo the treaty in the Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. p. 775, &c.

France

1600. France one hundred thouſand crowns: That he ſhould likewiſe reſign to his majeſty the citadel of Bourg, the bailiwic of Getx, Chateau-Dauphin and its dependencies, with all that could be comprehended in the province of Dauphiné on this ſide the Alps: That he ſhould likewiſe renounce the property of Aus, Chouſy, Valley, Pont d'Arley, Seiſſel, Chana, and Pierre-Chatel, to the borders of Geneva: That the fortifications of Beche-Dauphin ſhould be raſed: That the king ſhould on his ſide reſtore all the other forts he had taken which are not ſpecified here, withdrawing the artillery and ammunition that were then placed there. The other articles related to criminals and priſoners of war that had fled on either ſide, church benefices, exchange of eſtates between private perſons, &c. It was articled for the duke of Nemours, part of whoſe eſtate lay in this country, that he ſhould not be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of it, neither for the part which he held of the king, nor for that which he held of his highneſs. The other clauſes common to all treaties I ſhall not mention.

Notwithſtanding this treaty was ſigned by me for the king, by the legate for the pope, and the duke of Savoy's agents, yet the duke, influenced by the count of Fuentes, put off ſo long the entire concluſion of it, by his complaints and delays, that the king thought it neceſſary not to lay down his arms: he took poſt to Paris *, where he waited for the duke's determinations.

* "He departed, ſays Baſſompierre, one night poſt from Lyons, in order to return to Paris; and embarking at Rouanne he landed at Briare; from whence he came to lie at Fontainebleau, and next day dined at Villeneuve; and croſſing the Seine below the Tuilleries, came in the evening to Verneuil (afterwards Senlis.) We continued three days at Verneuil, and then came to Paris.—At length the queen arrived at Nemours; and the king, having rode poſt with ſixty freſh horſes, came and carried her to Fontainebleau, where after ſtaying five or ſix days, ſhe arrived at Paris, and was accommodated with apartments at the houſe of Gondy." Mem. de Baſſompierre, tom. I. p. 89, 90.

In

In caſe there ſhould be a neceſſity for his return- 1600.
ing into Savoy, he had certain meaſures to take for
the affairs within his kingdom, and in Paris eſpe-
cially, at a time when every place was filled with
malecontents. He left the conſtable and Leſdi-
guieres, till his return, with ſome good troops upon
that frontier; and Villeroi and two or three other
commiſſioners at Lyons, to conclude the buſineſs of
the peace.

But his majeſty found no occaſion to return in-
to theſe provinces. The duke of Savoy, after hav-
ing long amuſed himſelf with expectations from the
diſaffected French lords, gave place to more pru-
dent thoughts; and reflecting on what he had al-
ready loſt by his obſtinacy, he thought himſelf
very happy to accept the treaty in the form alrea-
dy mentioned; accordingly the laſt formalities were
added, and the peace was publiſhed at Paris and
Turin with the uſual ceremonies; however, the
articles were not executed without many difficulties
being raiſed by the duke of Savoy, which detained
Villeroi at Lyons part of the following year: it was
not till then that every thing was entirely agreed to;
and Spain, who had taken great intereſt in the af-
fair, even adviſed the duke of Savoy to comply
with the articles of the treaty. On all theſe occa-
ſions Henry paid great deference to the pope. He
granted all the delays which the duke of Savoy,
by count Octavio Taſſone, engaged the legate to
demand; which was contrary to Villeroi's advice:
but his majeſty having in reality obtained all that he
could demand, thought he ought not to obſerve too
rigorouſly the manner it was yielded to him, nor
hazard, for ſuch a trifle, a renewal of the war.
This produced as many advantages to the king as
any war ended in a ſingle campaign could poſſibly
do. His majeſty declared, that Breſſe ſhould not
be comprehended in the diſtrict of Lyons, but that
it ſhould be re-united to Burgundy, and be under
the juriſdiction of the court of aides of Paris.

The

1600. The queen did not ſet out immediately after for Paris. She had brought with her her uncle Don John, a baſtard of the family of Medicis, Virgilius Urſinus her couſin, who being brought up, while young, with her, had conceived hopes above his condition. Many more Italians of both ſexes were in her train; amongſt others, a young man named Conchini, and a girl called Leonora Galigaï, who afterwards played a great part in France. I went to Paris eight days before the queen, to make preparations for the ceremony of her entry*, which was performed with great magnificence. The next day, the king brought the queen and the whole court to the arſenal to dine with me; the queen was attended by all her Italian ladies, who being pleaſed with the wine of Arbois, drank more of it than was neceſſary. I had ſome excellent white wine that was as clear as rock water: I ordered ſome decanters to be filled with it, and when the ladies aſked for water to temper the burgundy, they were preſented with this liquor. The king ſuſpected by their gaiety that I had played them a trick. This winter was wholly taken up with parties of pleaſure, on account of the king's marriage.

In Flanders, this year, the war broke out with great violence; prince Maurice of Orange gained a battle in the month of May againſt the archduke Albert, in which the † admiral of Caſtile, the

* It does not appear that this princeſs was complimented with the ceremony of a public entry into Paris. The citizens, ſays the Chronologie Septennaire, would have prepared a very magnificent one for her, and addreſſed the king for that purpoſe, but his majeſty choſe rather that the expence of the entry ſhould be laid out on other things that were more neceſſary. It afterwards adds: Upon her arrival at the poſtern-gate of the ſuburb St. Marcel, the marquis de Roſny cauſed all the cannon of the areſenal to be fired three times. She was carried in a litter along the moats of the city, and that day lodged at the ſuburb St. Germain, at Gondy's houſe, and the next at Zamet's, and after that at the Louvre. Ibid.

† This was the battle of Nieuport, that was fought in the month of July, wherein the Spaniards loſt 8000 men. The prince of Orange was nevertheleſs obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Nieuport and retire to Holland. The greateſt part of theſe foreign tranſactions are neither fully nor exactly related in our Memoirs; and I therefore think

man

man on whom he chiefly depended, was taken priſoner. He afterwards laid ſiege to Nieuport, but was obliged to raiſe it. All I ſhall ſay of the war between the Emperor and the Grand Signior in Hungary, is, that the duke of Mercœur was made lieutenant-general there by his imperial majeſty. I ſuppreſs a detail of the grandeur and magnificence of the ſecular* jubilee at Rome, and ſhall conclude the memoirs of this year with an incident that afforded matter for much ſerious reflection upon duels: Breauté having† killed his adverſary in a very uncommon combat, was afterwards aſſaſſinated himſelf. 1600.

it unneceſſary to give an account of them in the notes, but rather refer the reader to the Memoirs and Hiſtories of that time. In like manner conſult the general and particular accounts of the military expeditions between the armies of the emperor and the Grand Signior, which are mentioned here.

* It was ſaid, that 300,000 French, men and women, went to Rome, to obtain the indulgence of the jubilee; concerning which, ſee the ceremonies in La Septennaire, an. 1600, and other Memoirs of that time.

† Charles de Breauté, a French gentleman of Caux, captain of a troop of horſe in the ſervice of the States; his antagoniſt was a Flemiſh ſoldier, lieutenant of a company under the governor of Boiſleduc, with whom he fought a ſingular kind of combat, of twenty French againſt the ſame number of Flemiſh; he had the advantage in the firſt encounter, in which he killed his antagoniſt, but was made priſoner in the ſecond, and put to death by order of the governor of Boiſleduc. He was one, ſays the author of the Chronologie Septennaire, that eagerly ſought after occaſions of duelling, for which reaſon he had been obliged to quit the court of France.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XII.

1601. IN the foregoing book I finiſhed the laſt military narration that will be found in theſe Memoirs, in which at leaſt France was concerned. The life of Henry the great, hitherto wholly paſſed amidſt the tumult of arms, will in the ſequel exhibit only the actions of a pacific king, and the father of a family. The manner in which the campaign in Savoy had been conducted and terminated, leaving no room to fear that the peace would be again infringed by theſe antient enemies of the monarchy, or that it would not ſubſiſt as long as his majeſty pleaſed, I reſumed, by his orders, and under his inſpection, thoſe ſchemes with regard to the finances that the war had ſuſpended, and were now to meet with no more interruption. After the repreſentation I have already given of the ſtate of affairs within the kingdom, it would be injurious to conſider the life which the prince and myſelf now embraced as idle and inactive: if it is leſs noiſy and tumultuous, it is probably more laborious. Behold me therefore again ſhut up in my cloſet, where I applied myſelf with the utmoſt attention to the examination of all the abuſes that ſtill remained to be rooted

rooted out of the chamber of accounts *; the offices of the finances, the crown lands, the aids, the subſidies, the equivalents, the five large farms, the tenths, and all the reſt. I laboured at once for the preſent and the future, by taking ſuch meaſures, that the method I eſtabliſhed in the direction of every part of the finances ſhould not be afterwards ſubject to any alterations. I conſidered of means to enrich the king without impoveriſhing his ſubjects, to pay his debts, repair his palaces; and ſtrove, with ſtill more aſſiduity, to complete the art of fortifying his cities, than that of attacking and defending them; and to make proviſion of arms and ammunition. I extended my cares to the repairing and renewing public works, ſuch as roads, bridges, keys of rivers, and other buildings, which reflect no leſs honour upon the ſovereign than the ſplendor of his own palaces, and are of general utility: for which purpoſe I began to look into the application that had been made of the money granted for thoſe uſes to the cities and corporations, or rather into the frauds that had been uſed in the management of theſe funds. 1601.

The ſcheme of drawing up an account of every part of the finances, under the title of a general ſtate, which ſhould lay down their nature uniformly and clearly, ſeemed always ſo happy a thought, and ſo proper to bring them to the utmoſt exactneſs, that wherever this method was practicable I made uſe of it. On the firſt day of this year, when I preſented to the king the gold and ſilver medals, as uſual, I give him at the ſame time five of theſe general ſtates, each of which related to one or other of my employments, bound up in one volume very neatly. In the firſt, which was of the greateſt importance, becauſe I there gave an account of all that concerned myſelf as ſuperintendant, was ſet down

* As to theſe reformations, conſult likewiſe Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 444.

1601. on one ſide, all the money that was raiſed in France by the king from every tax whatever; on the other, all that was to be deducted for the charge of collection, and conſequently all that was to be brought clear into his majeſty's coffers. I cannot perſuade myſelf that this method was never thought of by any one ſince the finances were ſubject to ſome regulation; but intereſt alone prevented the execution of it. However that may be, I ſhall always inſiſt upon it, that without this guide there is no proceeding without miſtakes or roguery.

The ſecond of theſe ſtates was drawn up merely for the uſe of the keeper of the royal treaſury; here was ſet down, whence and upon what account he received all the king's money that paſſed through his hands during the year of his office, and how much he was at liberty to diſburſe out of the whole ſum, and for what purpoſes. The third was compiled for the uſe of the maſter of the ordnance, containing an exact account of money received and expended; with a true inventory of all that relates to the artillery; the number and ſorts of cannon, and of other arms, the quantity of inſtruments of war, and proviſions of victual, laid up in different places, or magazines; the ſtate of the arſenals and fortified places, and other obſervations of the ſame ſort. The fourth related to the chief ſurveyor of the roads, and gave an account of all the money diſburſed or to be diſburſed for the repair of every thing under his charge, whether it was to be done at the expence of the king or of the provinces. And, to conclude, the fifth contained a catalogue of cities and caſtles, particularly thoſe on the frontiers, that required any money to be laid out upon them; with a kind of rough draught of the works neceſſary at each place, formed with due regard to their natural ſituation and preſent ſtate.

The king, upon my repreſentation, reformed many abuſes with reſpect to money, which had cauſed a decay of commerce, of which money is the chief in-

inſtrument; the firſt was the practice which was then allowed, of putting money to intereſt at eight, or even at ten *per Cent.* * a practice of equal miſchief to the nobility and the people; to the nobility, becauſe they, being forbidden to engage in trade, have no other riches but the produce of their grounds, of which the price was brought down by high intereſt; to the people, becauſe, by putting out money to intereſt, they made as great profit by ſitting ſtill as by labour, and thereby kept immenſe ſums of money uſeleſs to the public, which, without that method of growing rich, they would have improved by ſome means advantageous to the commonwealth. The intereſt of eight *per Cent.* was aboliſhed, and ſix *per Cent.* allowed in its ſtead. 1601.

The coin of different countries was till this time current in France, and paſſed in commerce equally with that of our own ſovereign. A prohibition was iſſued, by which all money was put down but the coin of France †, that of Spain only excepted, which would have been too much miſſed in commerce had it been at once forbidden. But it was more neceſſary to rid ourſelves of the merchandiſe of our neighbours than of their money, for the whole kingdom was filled with their manufactures;

* It is thus that a prince, in our times, remarkable for his abilities and ſuperior ſkill in politics, has judged: being firmly perſuaded, that the ſtate would receive great advantages in every reſpect from a regulation that would oblige monied men to betake themſelves to commerce and agriculture, which are infinitely preferable to the bare and dead produce of rents.

† It is true, that the ſpecies of foreign gold and ſilver coin ought not to paſs current and be confounded with that of the prince in interior commerce, and in payments made between individuals; but is it not evident, that the more ſuch coin abounds among our own money, the more flouriſhing will our commerce be? The hiſtorian Matthieu obſerves, tom. II. l. iii. p. 446. that this prohibition made the commerce in France fall almoſt entirely; and the duke of Sully himſelf agrees, a little lower, that he was obliged to have recourſe to other means to retrieve it. We will examine this queſtion with him, when he comes to handle it, in the following book. As to the prohibition of uſing gold and ſilver in cloaths and houſhold furniture, we ſhall alſo have occaſion, in the ſequel, to give our opinion on the principles he eſtabliſhes with regard to luxury.

1601. and it is incredible how much miſchief was done by foreign ſtuffs, particularly thoſe of gold and ſilver. The importation of theſe, and of all others, was forbidden under ſevere penalties: and becauſe France had no means of ſupplying herſelf with them out of her own ſtock, we had recourſe to the true remedy, which is, to do without them; the uſe of all ſtuffs wrought with gold and ſilver being forbidden by an edict *.

All theſe declarations tended to introduce one, by which it was forbidden to carry any ſpecies of money out of the kingdom, under the penalty of a confiſcation of all that ſhould be intercepted in the carriage, and likewiſe of all the eſtates of the offenders, as well thoſe that favoured as thoſe that were guilty of the infringement of this law. The king gave a public proof how much he had this affair at heart, by the oath he made, not to grant any pardon for this ſort of miſdemeanors; and even to hold all thoſe ſuſpected that ſhould dare to ſolicit him to the contrary: yet all this could only oblige thoſe perſons that carried on ſuch practices to conceal them more carefully. I was of opinion, that one example would be more efficacious in correcting this obſtinate evil than all the threats that had been publiſhed againſt it. I was not ignorant that a great many very conſiderable perſons, and even amongſt the courtiers themſelves, made a fund out of this pernicious traffic, either by ſuffering this money to paſs under their names, or by ſelling, at a high price, the authority which enabled them to correſpond with the foreigners, and ſecured the privileges of paſſage. I thought it moſt prudent to apply myſelf to thoſe who were employed by them for theſe correſpondences, and promiſed them

* He ſhewed, by his example, how to retrench the ſuperfluity of dreſs, for he commonly went clad in a coat of grey cloth, with only a pourpoint of ſattin or taffety, without any indented edgings, lace, or embroidery: he commended ſuch as dreſſed in that plain faſhion, and ridiculed others, who carried, ſaid he, their windmills and their old woods on their backs. Perefix. part iii.

that,

that, as a recompence for their diſcovery, they ſhould have the fourth part of thoſe ſums that were ſeized by their informations; for the king having made over theſe confiſcations to me, I had a right to diſpoſe of them. By theſe means I was well ſerved. 1601.

A month was ſcarce elapſed, when I received notice from an inconſiderable man, the authors not being willing to make themſelves known, that there were two hundred thouſand crowns in gold collecting to ſend abroad, which was to be ſent at two different times, and that the firſt carriage would be much leſs than the ſecond. After having taken all the neceſſary precautions, this ſum appearing rather too conſiderable for me, I thought myſelf obliged to mention it to the king, who made this qualification in the right he had given me, that if the ſum did not exceed ten thouſand crowns, I might appropriate it to myſelf, but that the overplus ſhould be his: "Which will come, ſaid he, very ſeaſonably, having had ſome loſs at play that I durſt not tell you "of, nor make up with my own money." I was not mercenary enough to wait for the profits of the ſecond carriage. I ordered the firſt to be dogged, and with ſuch vigilance, that it was ſtopped half a league beyond the territories of France. It could not be done in the kingdom, though but a quarter of a league from the frontier, without furniſhing the offenders with a pretext for getting it releaſed. There was found in piſtoles, double piſtoles, and crowns of the ſun, to the amount of eight and forty thouſand crowns, which had been concealed in ſome bales of common goods for exportation. The king's reſolution on this article was ſo well known, that the conductors named no perſon as proprietor of it; and notwithſtanding all the noiſe this ſeizure made at court, it was diſavowed by every one; and the ſum was, by his majeſty, divided in this manner: ſeventy-two thouſand livres he reſerved for himſelf, five and twenty thouſand he ordered ſhould be given to the informer, and the remaining forty-ſeven thou-

1601. ſand he left to me; promiſing me, that however large any future capture might be, he would take no part of it from me. But after this, no more money was attempted to be carried out of the kingdom; this example had given a general diſlike to ſo ruinous a traffic.

Thoſe that compoſed the chamber of juſtice * which was erected againſt the contractors, treaſurers, receivers, and others who had been guilty of miſdemeanors in their offices, were likely, in appearance, to exerciſe far greater ſeverities. It was my advice, that theſe offenders ſhould not only be obliged to refund, but that thoſe who were convicted of embezzling the public treaſure ſhould be corporally puniſhed. Money, however, the poſſeſſion of which covers all crimes it is the cauſe of, excepted this from the juſt rigor of the law †. I would, were it poſſible, tranſfuſe into the breaſts of my countrymen ſome part of that indignation that fills mine, againſt ſo pernicious an abuſe, and all that contempt which I feel for thoſe that owe their elevation to it. If we conſider as a ſlight matter, the deſpicable light we appear in to our neighbours by this ſhameful cuſtom (for none ſtrikes more directly at the honour of the nation) we cannot conceal from ourſelves the evils it has given riſe to; nothing has contributed more towards perverting our ideas of probity, candor, and diſintereſtedneſs, or to turn

* Otherwiſe called the royal chamber: it conſiſted of a preſident of the parliament of Paris, two counſellors, two maſters of requeſt, a preſident and four counſellors of the chamber of accounts, a preſident and three counſellors of the court of aids, and one of the general advocates of the parliament, &c. Commiſſioners were ſent into the provinces, to give them informations of ſuch as were guilty of any malverſations.

† The duke of Sully ſeems to me to reaſon juſtly, when, in ſuppoſing the utility of the chambers f juſtice, he requires, that they ſhould not confine their proceedings to pecuniary mulcts only, but join to theſe corporal puniſhments. And he ſeems to me to have ſtill greater reaſon, when, in the ſequel, he adviſes to ſuppreſs this method as abſolutely uſeleſs; and entirely aboliſh, in France, the uſage of compoſitions in farming the finances: and this is likewiſe the opinion of cardinal Richlieu. Teſtament Polit. part I. ch. iv. § 5.

thoſe

thoſe virtues into ridicule; nothing has more ſtrengthened that fatal propenſity to luxury, which is natural to all men, but is with us become a ſecond nature, by that peculiarity of temper which makes us faſten eagerly upon every thing that can gratify our paſſions; and nothing in particular has ſo greatly degraded the French nobility, as the rapid and dazling fortunes of contractors and other men of buſineſs, by that opinion which they have circulated every where, and which is indeed but too well grounded, that in France this is almoſt the only method of arriving at the higheſt honours, and firſt employments of the ſtate, in the poſſeſſion of which all is forgot, and to the attainment all is permitted. 1601.

To go to the ſource, military virtue is almoſt the only quality by which true nobility can, in France, be obtained, preſerved, or dignified: and in this practice there will be found no prejudice or empty opinion, if it be conſidered, that precedence muſt naturally be granted to that rank, by which all other claſſes of the community are preſerved and ſupported in that ſecurity without which there can be no property: but this ſtate of life is not the way to a great fortune; this ſimplicity and ſeparation from lucrative purpoſes ſhew the antiquity and purity of the firſt inſtitution. By bravery nothing but honours could be got, becauſe in thoſe times honour was the only reward of glorious actions: in later days, ſince the notions of mankind are changed, and every thing is rated by the money which it brings, this generous body of nobility is brought in compariſon with the managers of the revenue, the officers of juſtice, and the drudges of buſineſs. But this compariſon terminates in a univerſal agreement, to pay to theſe gatherers of money that reſpect which muſt always be ſhewn to thoſe who are poſſeſſed of power, and are, in fact, our ſuperiors, an advantage which the former have loſt*. And, indeed, how ſhould it be

* The ſame cardinal Richelieu complains of this abuſe, and propoſes a remedy for it, according to the duke of Sully's ſcheme.

1601. otherwiſe, when we ſee the nobility of the ſame mind, with regard to this point, as the meaneſt of the people, and making no ſcruple to mingle the moſt illuſtrious blood in a ſhameful alliance with a dirty pedlar, who knows nothing but the change, his ſhop, his counter, and his knavery? This abuſe is neceſſarily productive of two others, confuſion of ranks, and degeneracy of families; which laſt is better proved by experience than argument. We need only take a view of that great number of mongrel gentry with which the court and city is filled, and we ſhall find them wholly deſtitute of the plain and manly virtue of their anceſtors: no depth of thought, no ſolidity of judgment, raſh, inconſiderate, a ſtrong paſſion for play, a natural propenſity to diſſoluteneſs, a ſolicitude for dreſs, and vitiated taſte in every kind of luxury; that one would imagine they thought to exceed even the women in the effeminacy of their manners: yet theſe people engage in the army, but with ſuch diſpoſitions, to which is often added a ſecret contempt for the profeſſion they embrace, what can be expected from them? This ſubverſion of all order is indeed to be lamented, but is inevitable, while that profeſſion, which has only glory for its object, is not exalted to the higheſt rank, and dignified with the chiefeſt honours, which, for that purpoſe, ought to be taken from the upſtarts of fortune; and ſince the infamy which we ſhould find theſe creatures of chance ſtained with, if we took pains to examine them, is not ſufficient to draw our contempt, it is neceſſary they ſhould be branded

" Gentlemen, ſays he, cannot be " promoted to places of truſt and " dignity, but at the expence of " their ruin; for at preſent all " ſorts of people are admitted to " them through the infamous traf- " fic carried on by means of mo- " ney. For the future, all per- " ſons ſhould be excluded from " thoſe poſts, but thoſe that have " the good fortune to be of noble " birth." This miniſter concludes, in another place, after M. de Sully, " That the means of " continuing the nobility in that " purity of manners which they " derive from their anceſtors (theſe " are his words) is to retrench " that luxury and intolerable ex- " pence which have been gradual- " ly introduced." Part I. ch. iii. § 1.

with

with public marks of diſgrace, to ſignify the rank they ought to hold. 1601.

The king was convinced by the juſtneſs of this reaſoning. However, in this chamber of juſtice, the ſame thing happened that generally does: the little rogues paid for all the reſt; the principal delinquents found their ſecurity in that very metal for which they were proſecuted; they made uſe of a ſmall part of it in preſents, which ſaved the other. This qualifying would not have prevailed with the king had it been employed directly; but it found acceptance with the ladies of the court, and even with the queen herſelf; they gained the conſtable, Bouillon, Bellegarde, Roquelaure, Souvré, Frontenac, and ſome others, who, though not of this high claſs, knew as well how to work upon the king's inclinations; ſuch were Zamet, La Varenne, Gondy, Boneuil, Conchini, and many more of that ſort. The complaiſance of this prince for all thoſe whom he ſuffered to live in ſome degree of familiarity with him, and eſpecially for ladies, deſtroyed all his wiſe reſolutions, ſo that the ſtorm fell only upon thoſe that had reaſon to reproach themſelves with not having yet ſtolen enough to put their theſts in ſecurity. The retrenching of part of thoſe officers of all ranks, with which the bar and the finances abounded, and which was done at this time, was looked upon as the work of the chamber of juſtice. The great number of thoſe officers, as well as their extreme licentiouſneſs, are indubitable teſtimonies of the calamities that are introduced into a ſtate, and the forerunners of its ruin.

In May the king and queen had the devotion to celebrate the jubilee at Orleans. I attended their majeſties as far as half a league beyond Fontainebleau, from whence they proceeded that evening to Puiſeaux. I took advantage of this little vacation, to viſit the lands of Baugy, which had been juſt awarded to me by a decree, for the great ſums which were due to me from theſe lands, and upon which I began

1601. began to build immediately with the confiſcated money I have lately mentioned. I was ſtopped within two leagues from the place where I intended to lie, by a courier from his majeſty, who called out to me while I was yet a great way before him. He brought me a letter from the king which contained only theſe few words. "I gave you ſix days for your journey "to Baugy, but I have received letters of great "conſequence from Buzenval, which I want to ſhew "you; you will oblige me if you will come and lie "to-night here at Puiſeaux, whither you need bring "no neceſſaries. I have given orders for your lodg-"ing, and ſent thither my hunting bed, and have "ordered Coquet to get your ſupper ready, and "your breakfaſt in the morning, for I will detain "you no longer. Adieu, my beloved friend."

I wiſhed my wife, who accompanied me, a good night, and, taking with me only two gentlemen, a page, and a valet de chambre, and one groom, I turned back to Puiſeaux, where I found the king, who was amuſing himſelf with ſeeing the youth of his train wreſtle and leap in the court-yard of the priory. As ſoon as he ſaw me, he called Paſquier, who had been ſent to him by Villeroi with Buzenval's letters, which informed the king that prince Maurice had taken the field with his army, which he had increaſed with garriſons drawn out of their quarters, and eſcorted by two thouſand waggons: that, with this army, he intended (as Buzenval had learned from the prince of Orange's officers, and from the prince himſelf) to croſs Brabant, the country of Liege, Hainault, and Artois, to gain by it the rivers along the frontiers of France, from whence he expected aſſiſtance, and bring the war to the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Berque-Saint-Vinox, Dunkirk, and Nieuport; that the archduke, greatly inferior to the prince of Orange, not having yet received the troops which he expected from Italy and Germany, beheld thoſe preparations with aſtoniſhment, and durſt not oppoſe his march, but that he contented himſelf with being

being near him, that he might oblige him to keep in a narrow compaſs, and that while he obſtructed him he might be himſelf near the place where he perceived the ſtorm would fall; that, finding this ſtep, which had been communicated to him, of great importance, he thought it was neceſſary to inform the king of it. 1601.

The knowledge I had of the Low Countries made this deſign of the prince of Orange appear to me ſo dangerous, that I thought it likely to draw upon him a total defeat. He would be obliged to march a great way within view of the enemy and upon their frontiers, through countries ſo full of woods, hedges, and hollow ways, particularly in Liégeois, that I thought them impaſſable for ſuch a number of waggons; and the king was of the ſame opinion. After we had conferred together a long time, he reſolved to ſend prince Maurice his ſentiments of it, and I reſumed my route to Baugy, in which I viſited the lands of Sully, that I had a deſign of purchaſing, and did ſo accordingly the following year. The king continued his pilgrimage to Orleans, and laid there the firſt ſtone for the rebuilding the church of the Holy Croſs: he afterwards returned to Paris, to which place I had come three days before his majeſty.

Henry's letter changed the deſign of Naſſau; he beſieged Rhimberg, and took it on the tenth of June. The archduke Albert, in revenge, inveſted Oſtend on * the fifth of July. Maurice, on his ſide, laid ſiege to Bolduc, either to force the archduke to abandon his enterprize, or to indemnify himſelf by the reduction of this place, which was looked upon to be the moſt important fortreſs in Brabant. I was ſtill of opinion that he would do neither; and when the king ſent for me to hear my ſentiments of it in

* It will be often mentioned; this ſiege, in which many brave actions were performed on both ſides, having laſted above three years; but for a minute detail of them conſult M. De Thou, Le Septennaire, and other hiſtorians.

the

1601. the preſence of the courtiers who were by when the pacquet which brought the news was opened, and who all ſpoke differently of it, I ſaid that, although I was very young when I had viſited Bolduc, I had nevertheleſs preſerved the remembrance of the place, and that, not to mention its ſituation, which rendered the ſiege of it a work of immenſe labour, it ſeemed to me impoſſible, conſidering the extent of the place and the great number of its citizens, to ſurround it in ſuch a manner as to hinder any one from going in or out, at leaſt without an army of twenty five thouſand men. In effect, the prince of Orange failed in his attempt upon Bolduc: but all this did not happen till November.

The war breaking out ſo near our frontiers, made Henry reſolve to go to Calais, as if he had no other deſign but to viſit that country. Although he always ſuſpected the Spaniards, he was not apprehenſive, in the preſent ſtate of the affairs of that crown, that they would be prevailed on to break the peace: but he was not diſpleaſed at having an opportunity to give them a little uneaſineſs, in revenge for the daily occaſions of diſcontent which he received from them. They acted, indeed, in a manner ſufficient to have obliged his majeſty to do ſomething more, had not policy prevailed over reſentment. After many fruitleſs attempts to break the alliance between the Swiſs cantons and France, and to hinder the pope from acting as arbitrator in the diſpute about the marquiſate of Saluces, becauſe his holineſs could not diſpenſe with himſelf from giving judgment againſt the duke of Savoy, they had ſent troops to that prince in the laſt campaign, under the command of the count de Fuentes. Their continued intrigues with marechal Biron, Bouillon, D'Auvergne, the prince of Joinville, were publicly known. Biron himſelf had confeſſed it to his majeſty: and laſtly, the king, at his return from Orleans, received certain intelligence of their practices with the cities of Metz, Marſeilles, and Bayonne.

At

At all this his majeſty diſſembled his diſpleaſure; 1601.
but nothing provoked him againſt that crown ſo much, as the outrage * which La Rochepot, our ambaſſador at Madrid, his nephew, and his whole train had received from that court. La Rochepot gave an account of it in his letters. "I ſwear by "heaven," ſaid Henry tranſported with rage, "that, "if I can but once ſee my affairs in order, and get "a ſufficient ſupply of money, and whatever elſe is "neceſſary, I will make ſo furious a war upon them, "that they ſhall repent of having obliged me to take "up arms." However, he ſtill ſhut his eyes upon ſo glaring a violation of the rights of nations, but it was not without doing great violence to his inclinations. "I ſee plainly," ſaid this prince to me ſometimes, "that through emulation, jealouſy, and inte-"reſt of ſtate, France and Spain can never be on "friendly terms with each other, and that a proper "ſecurity againſt that crown muſt have ſome other "foundation than words." He was ſufficiently convinced of the error in Villeroi and Sillery's policy, who often, in his preſence, maintained againſt me, that a ſtrict union with Spain was not only neither impoſſible nor dangerous for France, but likewiſe the moſt reaſonable ſyſtem of politics that ought to be embraced. To their arguments I oppoſed that competition ſo natural to theſe two crowns, the oppoſition of their intereſts, and the remembrance of ſo many recent injuries; and I concluded that, with a neighbour ſo artful and unjuſt, the neceſſary meaſures to be taken were to hold them always ſuſpected,

* Antony de Silly, count de la Rochepot. His nephew happening to bathe himſelf with ſome French gentlemen, was inſulted by ſome Spaniards, who flung his cloaths, and thoſe of his companions, into the river. Theſe revenged themſelves for the affront by killing and wounding ſome of the Spaniards; thoſe that fled ſoon after returned to force open the ambaſſador's houſe, and thence dragged his nephew to priſon, with others of his aſſociates that had taken ſhelter there. This difference was compromiſed by the pope, who cauſed the priſoners to be ſent to him to Rome, and delivered them to the count de Bethune, brother to M. de Sully, ambaſſador of France at that court. See the abovementioned hiſtorians for the year 1601.

1601. and to be always prepared for defence. The laſt news that came from Madrid gave me, for this time, the advantage over my opponents, at leaſt in the king's opinion, who heſitated no longer about going to Oſtend, after he had diſmiſſed two celebrated embaſſies, which he received about this time.

One of theſe embaſſies was from the grand ſeignor, who, knowing that the ſophy of Perſia his enemy had ſent a ſolemn deputation to the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, without taking any notice of the king of France, againſt whom he ſeemed to make an overture of his aſſiſtance at the ſame time that he aſked for theirs, he was returning one act for another. His highneſs, on this occaſion, made uſe of his phyſician, who * was a chriſtian, and inveſted him with the dignity of his ambaſſador. The terms in which this haughty potentate expreſſed himſelf, with regard to the French †, diſcovered a diſtinction and reſpect, of which there are few examples; he ſet a higher value, he ſaid, upon the friendſhip and arms of the French, than of all the other chriſtian nations together; and that although they ſhould all unite with Perſia againſt him, he ſhould think himſelf in a condition to deſpiſe their attempts, as ſoon as he had ſecured the alliance and aſſiſtance of a king, whoſe ſuperiority over his neighbours, as well as his great perſonal qualities, he appeared not to be ignorant of. The Turkiſh ambaſſador preſented his majeſty with ſeveral rich preſents, and gave me two ſcymetars of exquiſite workmanſhip, which I keep with great care.

* Bartholemew Cœur, a renegado of Marſeilles. He demanded of the king that the duke of Mercœur ſhould be recalled from Hungary, becauſe, among the prophecies which the Turks believe, there is one, they ſay, that the French ſhall drive the Turks out of Europe.

† To the moſt glorious, moſt magnanimous and moſt illuſtrious prince of the faith of Jeſus . . . the compoſer of the differences that happen between chriſtian potentates, prince of grandeur, majeſty and opulence, and the glorious leader of the greateſt ſubjects, Henry the IVth, emperor of France; ſuch were the titles which his highneſs gave the king. MSS. de la Biblioth. de Roi, vol. 9592.

The

The other ambaſſador was from the republic of Venice. This ſtate had been a long time, by a particular alliance often renewed, and by their common intereſt, united with France againſt the Spaniſh power: it had been amongſt the firſt in complimenting his moſt chriſtian majeſty upon his marriage and the peace, by the ſieurs Gradenigo and Delfin, the laſt of whom was likewiſe in this embaſſy. Henry was deſirous that theſe ambaſſadors ſhould be received with the utmoſt diſtinction in Paris. He ordered them to be ſerved with his own plate, and loaded them with preſents of equal value with thoſe he gave the firſt. The letters he then wrote to me turned almoſt wholly upon this head, for he was then at Fontainebleau with the queen, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, upon which account the king could not come immediately to Paris, and ſtill leſs the queen who had ſo great a concern in this embaſſy. His majeſty ſhewed ſo much reſpect for the Venetian ambaſſadors, as not to ſuffer them to wait for his return to Paris, but let them know that he would receive them at Fontainebleau, to which place his coaches and equipages attended them. 1601.

The archdukes could not fail to ſuſpect, that the king, by marching towards Calais, would endeavour to obſtruct their deſigns upon Oſtend, by way of repriſal for the ill treatment La Rochepot had received. In order to diſcover the purport of this journey, they deputed to him the count of Solre in the quality of ambaſſador, under a pretence of making him the ſame compliments on the queen's pregnancy which he received from all parts; enjoining this ambaſſador to inſinuate a complaint of his journey, by which Solre gave a fair opportunity to the king, who, inſtead of ſatisfying him as to the occaſion of his complaints, made, in his turn, very heavy ones againſt Spain, aſſuring him however, but in a general manner, that he would not be the firſt to come to a rupture, provided that the Spaniards did not force him to it by continuing their unfair

1601. proceedings. With this promiſe the ambaſſador pretended to be ſatisfied.

The queen of England hearing the king was at Calais, thought it a favourable opportunity to ſatisfy her impatience of ſeeing and embracing her beſt friend. Henry was not leſs deſirous of this interview, that he might confer with the queen upon the affairs of Europe in general, as well as on their own in particular, eſpecially thoſe which had been juſt hinted to him by the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors when he was at Nantz. Elizabeth firſt wrote him a letter equally polite and full of offers of ſervice; ſhe afterwards made him the uſual compliments, and repeated thoſe aſſurances by the lord Edmond, whom ſhe diſpatched to Calais, till ſhe herſelf could arrive at Dover, from whence ſhe ſent the lord Sidney with other letters.

Henry reſolving not to be outdone in complaiſance, anſwered theſe advances in a manner that ſhewed at once his reſpect for the ſex of Elizabeth, and his eſteem and admiration of her character. This intercourſe continued a long time, to the great mortification of the Spaniards, whoſe jealouſy was ſtrongly excited by proximity and cloſe correſpondence. Of all the letters wrote by theſe two ſovereigns on this occaſion, I am poſſeſſed only of that in which Elizabeth informs the king of thoſe obſtacles that prevented her conferring with him in perſon, lamenting the unhappineſs of princes, who, contrary to their inclinations, were ſlaves to forms, and fettered by circumſpection. This letter*, becauſe it

* This letter, and this whole relation of the duke of Sully's concerning Henry the IVth's journey to Calais, and Elizabeth's to Dover, appear ſufficient, without any other reflections, to ſhew the error of all thoſe various judgments current at that time, and which have been mentioned by different hiſtorians concerning theſe two potentates. It was ſaid Elizabeth propoſed to Henry, either that he ſhould come to Dover, or at leaſt confer with her in a veſſel half way between theſe two towns, and that this propoſal concealed a ſnare in which Elizabeth hoped to entrap Henry, by ſeizing upon his perſon in the interview, and keeping him priſoner till he reſtored Calais, and that Henry excuſed himſelf from complying with her requeſt, only

was

was the occaſion of the voyage I made to this princeſs, I have kept in my hands; in it ſhe tells her moſt dear and well beloved brother (for ſo ſhe called the king of France) that her concern at not being able to ſee him was ſo much the greater, as ſhe had ſomething to communicate to him which ſhe durſt not confide to any other perſon or commit to paper, and yet that ſhe was upon the point of returning to London. 1601.

The king's curioſity was ſtrongly excited by theſe laſt words; in vain did he torture his imagination to gueſs their purport. Secretary Feret being ſent by him to fetch me, "I have juſt now received letters," ſaid he to me, "from my good ſiſter the "queen of England, whom you admire ſo greatly; "they are fuller of civilities than ever: ſee if you "will have more ſucceſs than I have had in diſcovering her meaning." I agreed with Henry that it muſt be ſomething of great conſequence which induced her to expreſs herſelf in this manner; it was reſolved, therefore, that I ſhould embark the next day for Dover, as if with no other deſign than to take advantage of the ſhortneſs of the paſſage to make a tour to London, which would give me an opportunity of ſeeing what ſtep the queen would take upon my arrival, neither the king nor I doubting but that ſhe would be immediately informed of it. I acquainted no one with my intended paſſage, but ſuch of my domeſtics as were to attend me, and of theſe I took but a very ſmall number.

becauſe he ſuſpected the deſign; others ſay, becauſe his fears of the ſea were ſo great, that he durſt not venture into a veſſel. No one ſuſpected the true motive for propoſing this interview, which was the occaſion of all theſe letters that paſſed between them, and cauſed the duke of Sully to make the ſecret voyage to Dover, of which he here gives an account. Siri, on this occaſion, builds upon the reſentment which he ſuppoſes Elizabeth always preſerved, both of the peace of Vervins and the ſurrender of Calais, as well as her fear leſt Henry ſhould aggrandiſe himſelf too much, and on the jealouſy which the Engliſh entertained of the French. Mem. Recond. vol. I. p. 130, 150, &c. But this writer, ſo well acquainted with foreign negotiations, eſpecially thoſe of Italy and Spain, is not right, neither in the facts nor the opinions which he produces concerning the interior of our court and councils under the reign of Henry the IVth. He knew neither this prince nor the duke of Sully.

1601. I embarked early in the morning, and reached Dover about ten o'clock, where, among the crowd of thoſe who embarked and diſembarked, I was immediately diſcovered by the lord Sidney, who five or ſix days before had ſeen me at Calais: with him were Cobham, Raleigh, and Griffin, and they were ſoon after joined by the earls of Devonſhire and Pembroke. Sidney embraced me, and aſked me if I was come to ſee the queen; I told him I was not, and even aſſured him that the king knew nothing of my voyage: I likewiſe entreated him not to mention it to the queen, for not having had any intention of paying my reſpects to her I had no letter to preſent, my deſign being only to make a ſhort tour incognito to London. Theſe gentlemen replied ſmiling, that I had taken a uſeleſs precaution, for that probably the guardſhip had already given a ſignal of my arrival, and that I might quickly expect to ſee a meſſenger from the queen, who would not ſuffer me to paſs in this manner, having but three days ago ſpoke of me publicly and in very obliging terms. I affected to be extremely concerned at this unlucky accident, but to hope nevertheleſs, that I might ſtill paſs undiſcovered, provided that theſe gentlemen would be ſecret as to the place where I was to lodge; from whence, I aſſured them, I would immediately depart as ſoon as I had taken a little refreſhment: ſaying this I left them abruptly, and had but juſt entered my apartment, and ſpoke a few words to my people, when I felt ſomebody embrace me from behind, who told me, that he arreſted me as a priſoner to the queen. This was the captain of her guards, whoſe embrace I returned, and replied ſmiling, that I ſhould eſteem ſuch impriſonment a great honour.

His orders were to conduct me directly to the queen; I therefore followed him. "It is well, M. "de Roſny," ſaid this princeſs to me as ſoon as I appeared. "And do you break our fences thus "and paſs on without coming to ſee me? I am "greatly ſurpriſed at it, for I thought you bore me

" more affection than any of my ſervants, and I am 1601.
" perſuaded that I have given you no cauſe to change
" thoſe ſentiments." I replied in few words, but ſuch as ſo gracious a reception required. After which I began, without any diſguiſe, to entertain her with thoſe ſentiments the king my maſter had for her. " To give you a proof," replied ſhe, " that " I believe all you have told me of the goodwill of " the king my brother, and of your own, I will " diſcourſe with you on the ſubject of the laſt letter " I wrote to him; though perhaps you have ſeen " it, for Stafford (that is the name of the lord Sid- " ney) and Edmund tell me, that the king conceals " few of his ſecrets from you." She then drew me aſide, that ſhe might ſpeak to me with the greateſt freedom, on the preſent ſtate of affairs in Europe; and this ſhe did with ſuch ſtrength and clearneſs, beginning from the treaty of Vervins, that I was convinced this great queen was truly worthy of that high reputation ſhe had acquired in Europe. She entered into this detail, only to ſhew me how neceſſary it was that the king of France ſhould, in concert with her, begin to execute thoſe great deſigns which they both meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The neceſſity of this ſhe founded upon the acceſſions this houſe was daily ſeen to make: ſhe repeated to me all that had paſſed on this ſubject in 1598, between the king and the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors, and aſked me if this prince did not ſtill continue to have the ſame ſentiments, and why he ſo long delayed to begin the enterprize.

To theſe queſtions of queen Elizabeth, I anſwered, That his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſtill continued to think of that affair as he always had done: that the men and money he was raiſing, and the other warlike preparations he was making, were deſtined to no other purpoſe than the execution of the concerted plan; but that in France things were far from being in ſuch a ſtate, as to enable him to undertake the deſtruction of a power ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed as that

1601. of the Auſtrian princes. This I proved, by the extraordinary expences Henry had been at ſince the peace of Vervins, as well for the general neceſſities of his kingdom, as to reſtrain the attempts of the ſeditious, and to carry on the war which he had juſt ended with Savoy. I did not diſſemble with this princeſs the opinion I had always entertained of this enterprize, which is, that though England and the United Provinces ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reduce the houſe of Auſtria, unleſs they were aſſiſted by all the forces of the French monarchy, and on whom, for many reaſons, the chief weight of this war muſt fall, the houſe of Auſtria, by uniting the forces of its two branches, might, without any difficulty, not only ſupport itſelf againſt them, but even render the balance equal; it would therefore be uſeleſs, and even an imprudent attempt, to endeavour to ſap the foundations of ſo formidable a power, by the ſame means only that ſerve merely to keep upon the defenſive with it: and it would be indiſpenſably neceſſary to defer the attempt for ſome years, during which, France would acquire all ſhe now wanted, to enable her to ſtrike more effectually the blow that was preparing for the common enemy; and would, in conjunction with her allies, endeavour to engage the neighbouring princes and ſtates in their deſign, the princes of Germany eſpecially, who were more immediately threatened by the tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria.

It was eaſy for the queen of England to comprehend, by the manner in which I expreſſed myſelf, that theſe were not ſo much my own as Henry's ſentiments which I communicated to her, and ſhe gave me to underſtand as much, by confeſſing, that they appeared ſo juſt and reaſonable to her, that ſhe could not avoid adopting them: adding only, that there was one point on which all the parties could not be too ſoon agreed, which was, that the ultimate view of the intended combination being to confine the power of the houſe of Auſtria within juſt bounds,

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it would be neceſſary that each of the allies ſhould 1601.
ſo proportion all his deſires or expectations which he
might conceive in conſequence of the event, as that none of them might be capable of giving umbrage to the reſt: ſuppoſing, for example, that Spain ſhould be deprived of the Low Countries, neither the whole nor any part of this ſtate was to be coveted, either by the king of France, or the king of Scotland, who would one day become ſo of Great Britain, nor yet by the kings of Sweden and Denmark, already ſufficiently powerful by ſea and land to make themſelves reſpected by the other allies; and that the ſame conduct ought to be obſerved with regard to all the other ſpoils that might be taken from the houſe of Auſtria by thoſe princes whoſe dominions ſhould happen to be neareſt to the conquered countries; "For if my brother, the king of "France, ſaid ſhe, ſhould think of making himſelf "proprietor, or even only fœdal lord of the United "Provinces, I ſhould never conſent to it, but en- "tertain a moſt violent jealouſy of him; nor ſhould "I blame him, if, giving him the ſame occaſion, "he ſhould have the ſame fears of me."

Theſe were not the only reflections made by the queen of England; ſhe ſaid many other things, which appeared to me ſo juſt and ſenſible, that I was filled with aſtoniſhment and admiration. It is not unuſual to behold princes form great deſigns; their ſphere of action ſo forcibly inclines them to this, that it is only neceſſary to warn them of the extreme, which is, the projecting what their powers are ſo little proportioned to perform, that they ſcarce ever find themſelves able to execute the half of what they propoſed; but to be able to diſtinguiſh and form only ſuch as are reaſonable; wiſely to regulate the conduct of them; to foreſee and guard againſt all obſtacles in ſuch a manner, that when they happen, nothing more will be neceſſary, than to apply the remedies prepared long before; this is what few princes are capable of. Ignorance, proſperity, luxury,

1601. ury, vanity, nay, even fear and indolence, daily produce ſchemes, to execute which there is not the leaſt poſſibility. Another cauſe of ſurprize to me, was, that Elizabeth and Henry, having never conferred together on their political project, ſhould agree ſo exactly in all their ideas, as not to differ even in the moſt minute particulars.

The queen obſerving my eyes were attentively fixed on her without ſpeaking, imagined ſhe had expreſſed herſelf ſo confuſedly in ſomething ſhe had ſaid, that I was unable to comprehend her meaning. But when I ingenuouſly confeſſed to her the true cauſe of my ſilence and ſurpriſe, ſhe then, without ſcruple, entered into the moſt minute parts of the deſign: but as I ſhall have an ample occaſion to treat of this, in relating the great ſchemes which were prevented by the untimely death of Henry IV. I ſhall not trouble the reader with uſeleſs repetitions; but in this place juſt ſhew the five principal points to which her majeſty reduced ſo extenſive a ſcheme, as from the ſequel of theſe Memoirs this will appear to have been. The firſt was, to reſtore Germany to its antient liberty, in reſpect to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of a king of the Romans. The ſecond, to render the United Provinces abſolutely independent of Spain; and to form them into a republic, by annexing to them, if neceſſary, ſome provinces diſmembered from Germany. The third, to do the ſame in regard to Switzerland, by incorporating with it ſome of the adjacent provinces, particularly Alſace and Franche-Compté. The fourth, to divide all chriſtendom into a certain number of powers, as equal as may be. The fifth, to reduce all the various religions in it under thoſe three which ſhould appear to be moſt numerous and conſiderable in Europe.

Our conference was very long: I cannot beſtow praiſes upon the queen of England that would be equal to the merit which I diſcovered in her in this ſhort time, both as to the qualities of the heart and the

the underſtanding. I gave an exact relation of every thing that paſſed between us to the king, who very highly approved all ſhe had ſaid to me. Their majeſties correſponded by letters, during the reſt of the time they ſtayed at Dover and Calais. All preliminaries were agreed on; meaſures were taken even on the grand object of the deſign, but with ſuch ſecreſy, that the whole of this affair remained to the death of the king, and even much longer, among the number of thoſe on which only various and uncertain conjectures are formed. 1601.

The king did not return to Paris till he had carefully examined all the fortreſſes upon his frontier, and provided for their ſecurity: in every other reſpect, he appeared an indifferent ſpectator of the quarrel between the Spaniards and the Flemiſh; and all he did in favour of Oſtend, the ſiege of which was ſtill continued, was, not to hinder ſome French from engaging in the ſervice of the prince of Orange, in which ſeveral of them loſt their lives; amongſt theſe, the death of young * Chatillon-Coligny, whoſe head was ſhot off by a cannon-ball before Oſtend, deſerved to be particularly lamented. The king, when he was told it, ſaid publicly, that France had loſt a man of great merit: myſelf, in particular, was ſenſibly afflicted at his death. Coligny, at an early age, had already united almoſt all the qualities that form a ſoldier; valor, moderation, prudence, judgment, and the art of making himſelf equally beloved by the ſoldier and officer.

But Coligny was a proteſtant; and the jealouſy of the courtiers ſoon converted all theſe virtues into ſo many crimes, in the opinion of the king; they told his majeſty, that Coligny already aſpired to the diſtinction of being head of the proteſtants, both

* Henry de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, ſon to Francis, and grandſon to the admiral de Coligny: he carried to the aſſiſtance of Oſtend a regiment of 800 French. According to Brantome, the houſe of Chatillon Coligny came originally from Savoy, of a very noble and antient lineage, as he ſays, and who were formerly ſovereign princes, and very powerful. Tom. III. p. 173.

1601. within and without the kingdom, to which he was ſolicited by the duke of Bouillon; that he deſired nothing with ſo much ardour as to equal, or even to ſurpaſs, the actions of his father and grandfather; and had been heard to declare, that he ſhould not regret the loſs of life, if he had the ſatisfaction to loſe it at the head of an army, fighting for the preſervation of his friends. His affection for the ſoldiers was treated as an artful and dangerous artifice. They hinted to the king, that he had already raiſed a jealouſy in the prince of Orange; and that his majeſty would one day have reaſon to fear a ſhoot from a ſtock that had given ſo much trouble to our kings. Henry was ſo far influenced by theſe inſinuations, that when I went to aſk ſome favours of him for the mother and brother of Coligny, he dwelt continually upon what he had heard, and had given but too much credit to, and appeared to me not only full of indifference for the death of Coligny, but alſo ſo greatly prejudiced againſt the whole family, that I deſiſted from a ſolicitation which could not but be prejudicial to myſelf, my connections and conformity of religion with the deceaſed conſidered.

The king, at his return to Fontainebleau, had the pleaſure to find the queen in as good a ſtate of health as he left her. He was ſeldom from her during her pregnancy, and took all poſſible care of her health *. In a letter he wrote to me ſome days before the queen lay in, he ſays, "Bring no people of buſineſs "with you at this time; no mention muſt be made "of it during the firſt week of my wife's lying in; "we ſhall have ſufficient employment to hinder her "from getting cold."

At length, the moment that was to fill the king, the queen, and the whole kingdom with joy, arriv-

* "We read," ſays Bayle, in the Rep. de Let. for January, 1686, "that Henry recommended to Louiſa Bourgeois, a very ſkilful midwife, who laid the queen, to "perform her office ſo carefully, "as that there might be no occaſion for employing a man-midwife. Since this, added he, would "ſhock female modeſty."

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ed; the queen was, on the 17th of September*, delivered of a ſon, whoſe ſtrong health, as well as the queen's, filled the kingdom with the moſt agreeable hopes†. I believe I may venture to affirm, that this incident gave me more joy than any one elſe. I was attached to the king's perſon by the moſt tender ties of affection, an affection which I felt in a higher degree than the moſt faithful of his ſubjects, and was therefore more intereſted in his happineſs. He was ſo well convinced of this truth, that he did me the honour to give me notice of the birth of his ſon in a billet, which, at ten o'clock at night, he ſent from Fontainebleau to Paris, where I then was; it contained only theſe few words: "The "queen is juſt delivered of a ſon; I ſend you the "news, that you may rejoice with me." Beſides this billet, which he wrote as to a friend, he ſent me another the next morning by La-Varenne, as grand maſter of the ordnance; he there mentioned the birth of the Dauphin as an occaſion of inexpreſſible delight to him, "Not ſo much, ſaid he, for the "near concern I have in this incident, as for the "general good of my ſubjects." He ordered me to fire the cannon of the arſenal; which was performed in ſuch a manner, that the report was heard even at Fontainebleau. On this occaſion it was not neceſſary to order public rejoicings: all his majeſty's ſubjects, from the firſt to the meaneſt, concurred in giving demonſtrations of it, in which fear and policy had no part. 1601.

The king's ſatisfaction was only interrupted by a ſlight indiſpoſition, which he had drawn upon him-

* On Thurſday night, about midnight.

† Perefixe ſays, "The king, imploring the bleſſing of heaven upon the infant, gave him alſo his own benediction, and put his ſword into his hand, praying God, that he would be pleaſed to give him grace to make uſe of it only for his glory, and the defence of his people." Matthieu ſpeaks in the very ſame terms: "My deareſt, ſays he to the queen, be of good cheer, for God has granted us what we wanted." This writer adds, that a ſhock of an earthquake was felt two hours after midnight. Tom. II. l. iii. p. 441.

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1601. ſelf. La-Riviere * was his firſt phyſician, a man who had little more religion than thoſe generally have that blend it with the profeſſion of judicial aſtrology; yet the world did him the honour to ſuppoſe, that he concealed the principles of a proteſtant under the appearance of a catholic. Henry, who already felt a tenderneſs for his ſon, that filled him with an eager anxiety to know his fate, having heard that La-Riviere had often ſucceeded wonderfully in his predictions, commanded him to calculate the Dauphin's nativity with all the ceremonies of his art; and that the exact moment of his birth might be known, had carefully ſought for the moſt excellent watch that could be procured. It appeared, that the king thought no more of this deſign till about a fortnight after, when he and I being alone together, the converſation turned upon the predictions of La-Broſſe, which I have formerly mentioned, concerning his majeſty and me, which we had found ſo exactly accompliſhed. Henry's inclination to make the experiment with his ſon receiving new ſtrength by this diſcourſe, he ordered La-Riviere to be ſent for.

The phyſician, without taking any notice of it, had proceeded in his work. "M. de La-Riviere, "ſaid the king to him, we have been talking of "aſtrology; what have you diſcovered concerning "my ſon?" "I had begun my calculations, re-"plied La-Riviere, but I left them unfiniſhed, not "caring any longer to amuſe myſelf with a ſcience "which I have always believed to be in ſome de-"gree criminal." The king immediately diſcovered that this anſwer was not ſincere, and that he concealed his thoughts, either through an apprehenſion of offending his majeſty, or from an effect of ill-humour, whim, or the caution of an aſtrologer, who held it dangerous to diſcloſe his ſecrets. "I ſee "plainly, ſaid Henry, that you are not reſtrained "by motives of conſcience; you are not of the

* La-Riviere ſucceeded D'Alibouſt in the place of firſt phyſician: he had been in the family of the duke of Bouillon, who reſigned him to the king.

"number

" number of perſons that are ſo very ſcrupulous; 1601.
" but, in reality, you are afraid of not being able
" to tell me truth, or of making me angry; but
" whatever it be, I will know it, and I command
" you, on my diſpleaſure, to ſpeak freely." La-Riviere ſuffered himſelf to be preſſed ſtill longer; and at laſt, with a diſcontented air, either real or diſſembled, ſaid " Sire, your ſon will live out the
" common age of a man, and will reign longer
" than you; but his inclination and yours will be
" very different; he will be obſtinate in his opini-
" ons, often governed by his own whims, and
" ſometimes by thoſe of others: it will be ſafer then
" to think than to ſpeak: impending ruin threatens
" your former ſociety: all the effects of your pru-
" dence will be deſtroyed: he will perform great
" things, will be fortunate in his deſigns, and make
" a great figure in Europe: in his time there will
" be a viciſſitude of peace and war: he will have
" children; and after him things will grow worſe.
" This is all you can know from me, and more than
" I had reſolved to tell you." The king, after muſing a little while on what he had heard, ſaid to La-Riviere, " you mean the proteſtants, I know;
" but you ſpeak thus becauſe you are well inclined
" towards them." " I underſtand, ſaid La-Rivi-
" ere, what you would have, but I ſhall ſay no
" more." His majeſty and I continued together a long time in converſation, making reflections on every word that had been ſpoken by La-Riviere, which remained ſtrongly on the king's mind.

It was not poſſible for me to ſtay long at Fontainebleau; but the king continued to give me, with great kindneſs, an account of every thing that happened. " You cannot imagine," ſays he in one of his letters, " how well my wife is recovered of her
" lying-in; ſhe dreſſes her head herſelf, and talks
" already of getting up." In another, nine days after her delivery, he ſays, " The queen goes al-
" ready into her cloſet; ſhe has a conſtitution ſur-
" priſingly

1601. "prisingly strong: my son likewise is very well, I "thank God: these are the best news I can send a "faithful and affectionate servant, whom I tenderly "love *." Henry sent his son to Saint-Germain to be nursed, on account of the goodness of the air: and by one of those little strokes of popularity which shew the heart better than more ostentatious actions, he would have him shewn to all Paris; for which purpose, he was carried openly through the midst of this great city. The Parisians, by repeated acclamations, expressed their pleasure at this sight.

The king had made a promise to the queen that, if she brought him a son, he would present her with the castle of Monceaux. "My wife," said he, in a letter to me, "has gained Monceaux, by giving "me a son; therefore I desire you will send for the "president Forget, to confer with him about this "affair, and take his advice concerning the security "that must be given to my children, for the sum "which I pay for Monceaux." The city of Paris having likewise promised the queen a present of a suit of tapestry hangings for her lying-in, his majesty, in this letter, reminded me to demand it: an infanta † was born in Spain, about the same time that Providence gave a prince to France.

The negotiation, so many years depending with the grand duke of Florence, was concluded this year: that the reader may understand the occasion of it, it is necessary he should know, that, under the reign of Henry the third, Ferdinand de Medicis, grand duke of Florence, took advantage of the troubles that then raged in France, to possess himself of the little isles of Pomegue, Ratoneau, and If, with its castle in the neighbourhood of Marseille. Henry, fully resolved to make the grand duke restore them, ordered d'Offat, who was then on the other side of

* The original of this letter of Henry IV. to M. de Sully is still extant; it is dated from Fontainebleau, the 27th of August. Cabinet de M. le duc de Sully.

† Anna Maria Mauriette, afterwards queen of France, born the 22d of September.

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the Alps, to demand them, in the year 1568. The grand duke not daring to refuſe them abſolutely, repreſented only, that he had expended great ſums of money upon theſe iſles, which he could not reſolve to loſe: d'Oſſat of himſelf removed this obſtacle, by engaging that the king his maſter ſhould indemnify him for theſe expences, by paying him three hundred thouſand crowns, for which twelve of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable perſons in France ſhould be ſecurity*, as if his majeſty alone had not been ſufficient to anſwer for ſo ſmall a ſum. The king, without greatly attending to this condition, ratified this treaty; and a ſhort time after the chevalier Vinta was ſent by the duke of Florence to conclude, with Gondy, the buſineſs of the iſles upon this plan. 1601.

The two agents did not go out of the council to ſeek for their ſecurities, and the affair was propoſed to me among the reſt: this method of proceeding with a king, whoſe power no part of Europe was ignorant of, appeared to me ſo uncommon, that I could not help laughing at thoſe who mentioned it to me. Villeroi took pains to repreſent to me the neceſſity of diſengaging d'Oſſat from his word: I replied, that there never had been any bankers in my family; for indeed, this was rather the buſineſs of bankers than of gentlemen. None of the others, ſaid Villeroi, have made any difficulty about it. I believe it, anſwered I with ſome indignation, for they are all either deſcended from traders or lawyers. Hereupon there aroſe a diſpute in the coun-

* This is, in effect, the import of the fifth article of the treaty that paſſed on the 1ſt of May, 1598, between the king of France and the grand duke of Tuſcany, by the intervention of cardinal d'Oſſat, which may be ſeen at full length at the end of the collection of this cardinal's letters. The duke of Sully does not here reproach M. d'Oſſat with any thing which he had not already excuſed in the letter which he wrote to his majeſty, on the 5th of May, 1598, immediately after the concluſion of this treaty, and likewiſe in that to M. de Villeroi, of the 4th of Auguſt following. He afterwards cleared himſelf more fully, in a long memorial, which is alſo inſerted at the end of this collection. However, we cannot think the reaſons which M. de Sully produces againſt this convention groundleſs, nor believe that the duke of Florence would have broke the treaty without that condition.

cil,

1601. cil, which was reported to the king, who only ſmiled and ſaid, they had done wrong to mention it to me without firſt informing him, ſince he had not acquainted me with it himſelf. I am aſtoniſhed, added he, that he did not give a ſtill ruder anſwer: you cannot be ignorant of his temper, and how highly he values himſelf upon the nobility of his birth: let this affair be concluded without his or any other perſons entering into any obligation: I gave no permiſſion to the biſhop of Rennes to agree to ſuch an expedient. The grand duke did not allow himſelf to be ſolicited upon this head; he ſet the king free from the obligation of the twelve ſecurities out of regard to his perſon. The act for it was paſſed on the fourth of Auguſt, 1598, but the affair was on neither ſide concluded till the chevalier Vinta arrived in 1601.

I was likewiſe employed to ſettle certain eſtates in Piedmont, for which the count of Soiſſons was deſirous of treating with his majeſty: they came to him by the death of the princeſs of Conti, in right of his wife who was of the houſe of Montaffié*. My report was not very favourable for the count: I repreſented to the king, that theſe eſtates, which had been too highly valued, were likewiſe ſubject to ſo much litigation, and were ſo diſadvantageouſly ſituated, that theſe conſiderations ought greatly to leſſen the price. The count of Soiſſons thought proper to diſſemble the reſentment he entertained againſt me for this declaration.

Freſne-Canaye † was appointed ambaſſador to Venice, and Bethune my brother to Rome, to the great mortification of the other miniſters, eſpecially Villeroi and Sillery, with whom I had often diſputes,

* The prince of Conti was firſt married to Jane de Coëme, lady Bonnetable, and widow of Lewis count de Montaffié in Piedmont: and the count de Soiſſons had married Anne de Montaffié, daughter to that Lewis by the ſaid Jane de Coëme.

† Philip Canaye de Freſne: Philip de Bethune, count de Selles and de Charoſt.

which

which the king had many times endeavoured to prevent. 1601.
These two gentlemen had undertaken to exclude me from any concern in foreign affairs, the cognizance of which they pretended belonged only to them. The nomination to embassies falling under this head, they told his majesty, in my presence, that, for the embassy to Rome, they had abler persons to propose to it them Bethune, who, they said, had no knowledge of the affairs of that court, and had yet performed no considerable service to the state. My brother had, however, already been charged with the embassy to Scotland, of which he had acquitted himself well; and it could not be denied that he was circumspect, wise, and honest; qualities which, in my opinion, are not among the least that are essential to an ambassador. What these gentlemen said, therefore, was as false as it was contemptuous; and this I made them sensible of in my answer, by shewing them the value of those services which the state received from the military art, and which those gentlemen seemed to place below all others.

Villeroi, piqued in his turn that I had not given the first rank to his, maintained his cause with great heat and animosity. His majesty found himself obliged to command us to be silent, telling us, that he was offended at our holding such discourse in his presence; and that, without entering into a discussion of our services, we ought to be satisfied that he was pleased with them. I asked the king's pardon for daring, after this prohibition, to add a few words to close the mouths of persons who so unjustly placed the lazy business of the law, and the quiet employments of the cabinet, above the toils, the dangers, and expence of the military professions; and I truly spoke my sentiments of such partiality. "Well, well," said Henry, interrupting me, "I pardon you all, and take your words, "as I must, but upon condition, that, for the fu-"ture, you will avoid these little debates, and that

"when

1601. " when one of you recommends his friend to my " favour, the others do not oppoſe it, but ſubmit to " my choice: at preſent I determine in favour of " the ſieur de Bethune, whoſe family, wiſdom, " probity, and even capacity, I eſteem, having em- " ployed him in many affairs both of peace and " war, which he has acquitted himſelf of worth- " ily." The king promiſed Villeroi that, after my brother's return, he would diſpoſe of the embaſſy to Rome according to his recommendation. He then put an end to his walk, which this quarrel had protracted to more than two hours, and went to dinner. I went ſeveral times this year to Fontainebleau, to receive his majeſty's orders concerning affairs that could no otherwiſe be communicated to him, and, being often and for a conſiderable time at a diſtance from each other, I received, as uſual, a great number of letters from this prince: that in which he mentions the marechal d'Ornano *, who had given him ſome cauſes of complaint, has ſomething ſingular in it. " I never, ſays Henry, ſaw ſo " much obſtinacy and ignorance together in one " man, but I pronounced him dangerous; he has " reached the ſummit of inſolence. Take care that " he gives me no occaſion to be convinced what " he is, that is, unworthy of the honours that I " have beſtowed on him: his fidelity only could " deſerve them; his many acts of diſobedience will " ſoon take away all claim to that character: to " ſay the truth, I am quite tired of him." The ſtates of Languedoc meeting this year, the king wrote to me, that he muſt transfer the place of their ſitting to the Lower Languedoc, " that my ſervants, " ſaid he, may not go firſt to thoſe of the league." In another letter, he ordered me to ſend for ſome foals of his breed of horſes † at Meun; and in ano-

* Alphonſo d'Ornano, ſon to San-Pietro de Baſtelica, a colonel of the Swiſs.

† "From his early years," ſays Brantome, ſpeaking of Henry II. in his Vies des hommes illuſtres, tom. II. p. 24. "he was always " very fond of the exerciſe of " riding, and kept always a great " number of them in his grand

ther, to give two hundred crowns to Garnier his preacher in Advent and Lent; the reſt, which contain only a detail of ſlight circumſtances, I ſuppreſs, although they are proofs of the extreme vigilance and attention of this prince to matters of the ſmalleſt conſequence. 1601.

I ſhall compriſe, in one article, with which the Memoirs of this year will be concluded, all that relates to marechal Biron, of whoſe revolt there was at length the moſt convincing proofs. After the king had been at Lyons, and had there entertained very ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt this marechal, his majeſty had a private converſation with him in the convent of the Cordeliers, and appeared ſo well informed of all his tranſactions with the duke of Savoy, that Biron, either becauſe he then thought that, after ſuch a diſcovery, all he could now do was to repair his fault, or that he ſought only to

" ſtables of Tournelles, which " were the principal, as alſo at " Muns, at St. Leger, and at Oy- " ron, under the inſpection of M. " de Boiſſy maſter of the horſe, the " moſt valuable part of which was " his breeding mares, wherein he " took great delight." He adds, that, this prince having one day ſhewn his ſtables to the emperor's maſter of the horſe, the latter told him, that his maſter had not near ſo fine a ſet of horſes, extolling them very highly, eſpecially as the greateſt part were of his own breeding. The troubles, during the laſt reigns, were the cauſe that the king's breeding ſtables had then fallen into decay, and were in a worſe condition than they were under Henry II. That of Meun, or Mehun, in Berry, was the only place of thoſe before mentioned, where horſes were bred for the king's uſe; and theſe ſtables were very inconſiderable, as may be ſeen from the archives of the ſecretary of the king's houſhold, which are kept at Petitſperes in Paris, where Meun is called Main, apparently to diſtinguiſh it from another Meun upon the Indre, that is alſo in Berry.

In 1604, the duke de Bellegarde, maſter of the horſe, cauſed Mark Antony de Bazy, captain of the breeding ſtables, to remove the king's ſet of mares to St. Leger, a foreſt belonging to the crown. In 1618 ſome conſiderable additions and improvements were made; and greater ſtill about 1665, when the late M. Colbert, miniſter of ſtate, enlarged the bounds, made parks therein, and got together a great number of ſtoned horſes and young colts, by means of Alain de Garſault, who was then captain. It continued in this ſtate till 1715, at which time it began to be ſettled in Normandy, under the direction of Francis Gideon de Garſault, Lewis de Lorraine count d'Armagnac being then maſter of the horſe in France: ſince this laſt eſtabliſhment, it has every day more the appearance of the ſtables of the moſt powerful prince in Europe.

1601. deceive the king, confeſſed to him, that he had not been able to reſiſt the offers made to him by the duke of Savoy, joined to his promiſe of giving him the princeſs * his daughter to wife. He aſked the king's pardon for theſe proceedings, and proteſted to him, with the utmoſt appearance of ſincerity, that he would never again ſuffer himſelf to be intoxicated with ſuch expectations.

Henry thought he might depend upon a promiſe, which was nevertheleſs forgot in the inſtant that it was made. Biron reſumed his firſt deſigns; went, according to his cuſtom, at different times into the provinces, careſſed all the malecontents he found amongſt the gentry, entertained them continually with the injuſtice he received from the king, and his credit and the correſpondence he carried on without the kingdom. He entered into ſtronger engagements than ever with Bouillon, d'Entragues, d'Auvergne, and others †. He, who was pride and fierceneſs itſelf, laid ſuch a reſtraint upon his inclinations, as to appear to the ſoldiers the moſt humane and affable man in the world, and drew the affections of the mob by playing the hypocrite and the devotee; for what appearance will not ambition aſſume to attain its end? Hitherto, however, it might ſtill have been doubted, whether he had not concealed his deſigns within his own breaſt, and if this

* The marechal de Biron, by marrying the duke of Savoy's third daughter, was to have received fromt he king of Spain, and that duke, the ſeigniory and inveſtiture of Burgundy, Franche Comté, and the County de Charlois; this was one part of the grand project of both theſe courts, which conſiſted in diſmembering, in this manner, the kingdom of France, and parcelling it out among the governors of its provinces. The proof of this may be ſeen in Vittorio Siri, Mem. rec. vol. I. p. 103. 127. who likewiſe extols the ſervices which the count de Bethune, our author's brother, performed on this occaſion, to Henry IV. during his embaſſy at Rome.

† The author ſays nothing, in all this account, of the conſpiracy of the marechal Biron, his impriſonment, and the proceſs againſt him, but what is confirmed by the hiſtories and memoirs of that time; they mention theſe extravagant words of his; "The king does "not at all hurt me, for I know "how to be revenged on crowned "heads, and even emperors." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. 2. p. 335.

con-

conduct was not an effect of that diſpoſition which is obſervable in many perſons, who, by their diſcourſe, appear reſtleſs, diſturbed, and fond of novelties, yet are far from any intention of throwing themſelves headlong into rebellion. 1601.

Hence aroſe Henry's ſuſpence concerning the conduct of marechal Biron, though he ſtill continued to have him carefully obſerved, and could not help being moved at the accounts that were brought him, of his conduct in the laſt journey he had taken to Dijon, where he had paſſed the end of the preceding year and the beginning of this. Biron, who on his ſide had his ſpies at court, being apprehenſive of the impreſſion which his behaviour made on the king, thought proper to write to me on that ſubject. His letter is dated the third of January; it turned only upon the ill offices that were done him with the king, and the injuſtice even his majeſty did him in believing him capable of deſigns he had never entertained. He excuſed his journey to Burgundy, on account of ſome domeſtic affairs which made it abſolutely neceſſary; and aſſured me, that he ſhould leave that province in two days: he concluded with entreating me to believe all that would be told me from him by Prevot, one of his agents, whom he had ſent to me. This letter was too ſoon followed by inconteſtable proofs of his treachery, to make it be thought ſincere; and I was ſo far from believing his profeſſions in it, that they only increaſed my ſuſpicions.

During the king's ſtay at Calais, he received ſtill clearer and more circumſtantial informations againſt Biron, doubtleſs becauſe this marechal, believing himſelf leſs ſuſpected than before, took greater liberties than uſual: but Henry, inſtead of taking thoſe meaſures that in prudence ought to have been no longer delayed, could not yet look upon this man as incurable; and reſolved, if poſſible, to bring him back to his duty, by gentleneſs, kindneſs, and ſuch diſtinctions as make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions

1601. upon the heart of an honeſt man. Biron having demanded a gratuity of thirty thouſand crowns from his majeſty, the king thought it very reaſonable, and granted it immediately; and becauſe that no obſtacles ſhould retard the payment of it, this prince ordered me to take proper meaſures to ſatisfy Biron without delay; accordingly I paid him inſtantly one half of the ſum in ready money, and aſſigned him the other half at the expiration of a year.

Biron thought there was a neceſſity for coming to thank me for this favour; he told me, that he was more obliged to me for it than the king, complaining to me that he had been forgotten and even deſpiſed by this prince, now that he had no longer occaſion for his ſword, this ſword, ſaid he, that has placed him upon the throne. It was impoſſible for me to keep ſilence upon this occaſion; I repreſented to the marechal, with a kind of reproach, that he accuſed Henry ſo much the more unjuſtly, as this prince, to whom alone he was obliged for this gratuity, had not diſdained to ſolicit himſelf for its payment: hence I took occaſion to ſpeak with ſtill greater freedom to Biron; I remonſtrated to him that, although he ſhould even have proofs of his neglect, he ought always to remember that he ſpoke of his maſter, and of a maſter who, by his perſonal qualities, ſtill more than by his rank, engaged the eſteem and reſpect of his ſubjects. I told him, that there was nothing which kings were more ſenſible of than diſreſpect to their perſons, an envious deſire to leſſen the glory of their arms, and ingratitude for their benefits. Theſe terms were ſufficiently plain, yet I went farther, and if I did not tell Biron poſitively that I thought him both ingrateful and a traitor, there was nothing to hinder him from concluding it by all my diſcourſe. I exhorted him to encourage a nobler emulation in his ſoul, which might give him a title to real praiſes; I dwelt upon the difference there was between making one's ſelf beloved by one's prince and country, and

and endeavouring to become the object of its fear; a deteſtable attempt, and almoſt always fatal to thoſe that make it. I told him, that if he would join with me in mutual labours for the glory of the ſtate and the public good, we might, in ſome degree, make both depend upon us; he by his abilities for war, I by the ſhare I had in the government at home; and hence we ſhould taſte the refined pleaſure of knowing ourſelves to be either the authors or inſtruments of every public benefit. I finiſhed my remonſtrance by endeavouring to prevail upon him to go and return his majeſty thanks for the gratuity he had juſt received. 1601.

To all this Biron, neither moved to gratitude by kindneſs, nor to repentance by conviction, anſwered only by exaggerating his own merit ſo unſeaſonably and in ſuch boaſtful terms, that I was now convinced of a thing I had hitherto only ſuſpected, which was, that the harſhneſs of his manners and the inequality of his humour proceeded from a ſlight taint of madneſs, for which ſo much the leſs allowance was to be made, as that, hindering him from reaſoning, it could not hinder him from ſpeaking and acting ill: what appeared to me a complete proof of it was, that, after what I had juſt ſaid to him, having reaſon to look upon me as a man in whoſe preſence he could not be too cautious, he was imprudent enough to let ſomething eſcape him concerning the deſigns that filled his head. I took no notice of it, but he perceived the error he had been guilty of himſelf, and to repair it pretended to acquieſce with my reaſons, and to approve of my ſentiments: from that moment, I ſo abſolutely deſpaired of ever being able to recall this man to his duty, that I thought mine obliged me to diſguiſe from the king nothing which I believed him capable of doing.

It was always a part of Henry's character, to be with difficulty perſuaded of the treachery of any perſon about him: he anſwered, that he knew Bi-

1601. ron perfectly well, that he was very capable of saying all that was related: but that this man, who, in consequence of his natural violence of temper, the effect of melancholy, was never contented, and exalted himself above every one else, was nevertheless, a moment after, the first to mount his horse, and dare all dangers for those whom he had railed at so much before; therefore he well deserved some indulgence for a little intemperance of tongue: that he was assured Biron would never be induced to rebel against him; that if this should happen, as he had already given a proof on those occasions where he had saved the life of this marechal, and in the last place at Fontaine-Françoise, that he did not yield to him in courage, he knew likewise how to shew him that he did not fear him. The king therefore made no alteration in his behaviour to Biron, except that he gave him still greater demonstrations of kindness, and loaded him with new honours, which he looked upon as the only remedy for his defection.

He was sent ambassador to queen Elizabeth, with whom he had a very extraordinary conversation *. He was imprudent enough not only to mention the earl of Essex to this princess, whom she had lately beheaded, but likewise to bewail the fate of that nobleman, whose great services had not been able to preserve him from so tragical an end; and Elizabeth had the complaisance, in answer to this impertinent discourse, to justify her conduct with regard to the earl, by shewing the necessity she was under to punish him: she told him, that Essex had madly engaged in schemes which greatly exceeded his abilities; and that after many proofs, and a full conviction of his rebellion, he might have still, by submission, have obtained her pardon; but that neither his friends nor his relations could prevail

* A particular account of this embassy, may be seen in Matthieu, tom. II. l. 2. p. 246, and seq.

upon

upon him to aſk it. I know not whether the queen of England perceived any marks of reſemblance between the French ambaſſador and the Engliſh favourite, but the reaſonable obſervations on the nature of royal heads, and the duty of ſubjects, with which ſhe concluded her diſcourſe, ſeemed to inſinuate as much; but Biron drew no advantage from it. 1601.

At his return from London, the king appointed him likewiſe ambaſſador extraordinary to Switzerland, to renew the treaty of alliance between France and the Cantons; ſtill continuing to believe that an employment which would take off his thoughts from arms, and engage him in a commerce with a body ſo wiſe and politic as the Helvetic Senate is, would ſubdue at length all inclinations to ſedition: but ambition, envy, and avarice, are paſſions that can never be wholly quelled; and had the heart of Biron been thoroughly ſounded, it might probably have been found tainted with all the three. No ſooner was he returned from his ſecond embaſſy, than, as if he had endeavoured to make amends for the time he had loſt, he laboured more aſſiduouſly than before to bring all his chimerical ſchemes to perfection; either perſuaded thereto by the duke of Bouillon and the count of Auvergne, who had likewiſe formed their party, or having drawn them into his.

To ſtrengthen their mutual engagements, theſe three gentlemen ſigned a form of aſſociation, of which each kept an original: in this uncommon piece, which was produced in the proceſs againſt marechal Biron, they reciprocally promiſed, upon the faith and word of gentlemen and men of honour, to continue united for their common ſafety, *to and againſt all, without any exception* (theſe terms deſerve a particular obſervation) to keep inviolably ſecret whatever might be revealed to any one of them; and to burn this writing, in caſe any accident ſhould happen to either of the aſſociates. There

1601. was no proſpect of ſucceeding in their deſigns, but through the operation of Spain and Savoy; they therefore renewed their correſpondence with theſe two powers, and on their ſide, to ſecond their endeavours, went about picking up all the diſaffected perſons they could find amongſt the gentry and ſoldiers. To draw into rebellion many of the towns at the greateſt diſtance from Paris, particularly thoſe in the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, they took advantage of the ſedition occaſioned by the eſtabliſhment of the penny in the livre, which I had oppoſed ſo ardently in the aſſembly *des Notables*, and which I had not afterwards the power to ſuppreſs; however, it could not poſſibly be raiſed according to the original plan: it had been changed into a ſubſidy of eight hundred thouſand franks, of which one half was ſunk in the taille, and the other in the cuſtoms.

Biron and his aſſociates, to encreaſe the diſcontent of theſe people, already ſtrongly incited by that impoſt, perſuaded them, that to complete their calamities, they would ſhortly be burthened with a duty upon ſalt; and many perſons were kept in their pay in each of theſe provinces, to terrify the inhabitants with perpetual alarms. What government can expect to be free from theſe diſturbers of public tranquility, if that of Henry the great, ſo wiſe, mild, and popular, was not? This evil, however, took its riſe from the unhappy influence the civil wars had on the manners of the people; that was the poiſon which produced thoſe turbulent ſpirits to whom quiet was painful, and the happieſt condition, a languid inactivity: hence ariſes that reſtleſs ambition, which keeps their reaſon enſlaved, makes them murmur at heaven, and quarrel with mankind for torments they bring on themſelves; and raiſes their malice againſt princes, whoſe whole power, ſo obnoxious to them, is not ſufficient to gratify their inordinate deſires.

Henry's

Henry's eyes were at length opened with regard to the real character of Biron, which he had hitherto flattered himſelf he knew ſo well, and he began to fear he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to the moſt violent remedy to ſtop the contagion: informations multiplied every day, and came from perſons that could not be ſuſpected; all agreed in the chief point of the conſpiracy; ſome mentioned the act of aſſociation, and, having ſeen it, related the very terms in which it was conceived. Calvairac* gave the king the moſt circumſtantial and moſt probable account that had been yet tranſmitted to him; beſides the public rumour, he informed him, that Biron and his collegues had received ſeveral thouſand piſtoles from perſons who came from Spain; that they expected ſums ſtill greater, and a ſupply of forces; that the council of Madrid had agreed to it, on condition that the rebels ſhould begin by ſeizing ſome ſtrong maritime places, on the frontiers of Spain; that, conformably to this plan, enterprizes were already formed upon Blaye, Byonne, Narbonne, Marſeilles, and Toulon; and that the count of Auvergne was to wait only till theſe were executed, to begin openly his attempt upon Saint-Flour. 1601.

All theſe informations made it abſolutely neceſſary to examine the matter thoroughly. The king came on purpoſe to the arſenal, where he found me buſy in completing the labour I had begun, to communicate to me what he had learned, and gave me the detail, leaning upon the balcony over the great walk: he went afterwards to Fontainebleau, whither I followed him; and it was in this place that we were to proceed to the laſt extremities with marechal Biron. He had for a long time made uſe of La-Fin† to carry on his foreign negotiations,

* John de Sudrie, baron de Calveyrac.

† James de La-Fin, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the houſe of Beauvais-la-Nocle; "the moſt "dangerous man, ſays Perefixe,

a lively

1601. a lively, cunning, intriguing fellow, whom Bouillon and he often called their kinſman. La-Fin had been ſent ſeveral times to the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the count of Fuentes; but afterwards, upon ſome diſguſt Biron had given him, he retired to his houſe, where he remained unemployed. It was not thought impoſſible to gain him; and for this purpoſe his nephew, the vidame of Chartres *, was made uſe of, who endeavoured to prevail upon his uncle to come to Fontainebleau. In the mean time I returned to Paris, to make preparations for a journey his majeſty thought it neceſſary to take immediately into all thoſe places through which Biron had paſſed, namely, Poictou, Guienne, Limoſin, and eſpecially about Blois.

La-Fin having at length reſolved to come to Fontainebleau, revealed all that he knew concerning Biron's conſpiracy. The king was deſirous that he ſhould be detained and lodged at Mi-Voie, that he might be ſeen by none but thoſe who were ſent to confer with him. His majeſty judging by what he had firſt declared, that my preſence would be neceſſary, wrote theſe few words to me: "My friend, "come to me immediately, on an affair that con- "cerns my ſervice, your honour, and our mutual "ſatisfaction. Adieu, my dear friend." I took poſt immediately, and on my arrival at Fontainebleau, I met his majeſty in the midſt of the large avenue to the caſtle, ready to go to hunt. I threw myſelf at his feet: "My friend," ſaid this prince

"and the greateſt traitor in France: "the king knew him well, and "often ſaid to the marechal, Don't "ſuffer that man to come near "you; he's a rogue, he'll be the "death of you. He endeavoured "to accuſe the marechal de Biron, "from a jealouſy he entertained, "that the baron de Lux had ſup- "planted him in the marechal's "favour; and in revenge to the "count de Fuentes, upon the diſ- "covery of his attempting to be- "tray the latter, for that he had "cauſed his ſecretary to be arreſt- "ed; yet that he might the better "deſtroy the marechal de Biron, "he pretended ſtill to have the "ſame attachment to him as be- "fore."

* Pregent de La-Fin, vidame de Chartres.

to me, preſſing me in his arms, "all is diſcovered; 1601.
"the chief negotiator is come to aſk pardon, and
"to make a full confeſſion: in his accuſation he in-
"cludes a great number of perſons of high rank,
"ſome of whom have particular reaſons to love
"me*; but he is a great liar, and I am deter-
"mined to believe nothing he ſays without good
"proofs: he accuſes one man, amongſt the reſt,
"whom you little think of; come, gueſs who this
"traitor is." "That is not in my power, ſire,"
I replied. After preſſing me ſome time longer, but
to no purpoſe, "You know him well, ſaid he; it is
"M. de Roſny." "If the others are no more
"guilty than I am, replied I, ſmiling, your ma-
"jeſty need not give yourſelf much trouble about
"them." "I believe ſo, ſaid the king; and to
"ſhew you that I do, I have ordered Bellievre and
"Villeroi to bring you all the accuſations againſt
"you and the others; I have even told La-Fin,
"that I would have him ſee you, and ſpeak to you
"freely: he is concealed at Mi-Voie, and will
"meet you on the road from Moret; appoint the
"hour and place, and none ſhall be preſent at your
"conference."

I could not imagine how my name happened to be found in this wicked cabal; whether it came from ſome of Biron's people, who ſuppoſed me to be a friend of their maſter, or from Biron himſelf and his aſſociates, who thought it was lawful for them to make uſe of it to the Spaniſh miniſters, to ſwell the number of their partiſans; or of the malecontents of the kingdom: it was not impoſſible, that

* We may, doubtleſs, rank among the number of theſe, the charge which La-Fin brought againſt Biron, of his having attempted the king's life, and the Dauphin's, according to Chron. Septennaire, ſince his friends made uſe of the proofs they had of the contrary, to obtain his pardon: "Sire, we have at leaſt this advantage," ſaid M. de La-Force to Henry IV. throwing himſelf at his feet, "that there is nothing "proved as to his having made "any attempt on your majeſty's "perſon." Vol. 9129 of the MSS. in the king's library.

two

1601. two letters I wrote to the marechal, through zeal rather than complaiſance, might have involved me in the number of theſe conſpirators; and the rather becauſe, in alluſion to the converſation that paſſed between Biron and me, which I have formerly mentioned, I told him plainly, that there was nothing to hinder him from making himſelf uſeful and dear to the kingdom, by thoſe meaſures I had marked out to him: I likewiſe told him, that although I was almoſt always about the king's perſon, yet I had never heard him expreſs any reſentment againſt him: and I adviſed Biron not to aſſert ſuch a thing publicly, becauſe the world would not fail to believe, and to report, that he only feigned to have received ſome diſguſt from his majeſty, becauſe his own conſcience reproached him with having deſerved it. Thus what I ſaid with an intention to bring Biron back to his duty, was interpreted to my diſadvantage.

Henry's opinion, as he has ſince told me, was, that this accuſation of me did not take its riſe either from Biron or any of his aſſociates, but from La-Fin alone, at the inſtigation of ſome perſons who hoped by that means to accompliſh my diſgrace: however that may be, it made ſo little impreſſion on the king's mind, that his majeſty, who had lately given me the government of the Baſtile, and intended that the patent for it ſhould not appear in my name, but only in that of La Chevalerie, altered his opinion on this occaſion, and cauſed it to be expedited under mine, knowing none, he ſaid, but me, by whom he could expect to be ſerved with fidelity, in caſe he ſhould have birds in the cage. Accordingly, Villeroi was ordered to bring me the patent a few days after, which was the beginning of the following year.

I had a long converſation * with La-Fin alone, in the foreſt; after which, Believre, Villeroi, and

* Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 482.

myſelf,

myſelf, examined, with great care, all the papers that contained any proofs againſt the duke of Bouillon, marechal Biron, and the count of Auvergne; ſuch as letters, memorandums, and other writings of the ſame kind. The names of many perſons beſides theſe three gentlemen were mentioned in them; but as it was probably with as little juſtice as mine own, which was there likewiſe, I ſhall not, on ſo ſlight a foundation, give them a place in theſe Memoirs, which, to diſtruſtful perſons, might make them ſtill more liable to ſuſpicion, than the depoſitions of La-Fin. After this examination we returned to his majeſty, and a council being held, the reſult of it was, to keep every thing ſecret, that Biron might not be warned of the meaſures that were to be taken to bring him to court, that he might be arreſted with the greater ſecurity. It was likewiſe reſolved, that his majeſty ſhould ſet out immediately on the journey before mentioned. We ſhall ſee in the following year what theſe meaſures produced. 1601.

It is neceſſary to take ſome notice of what happened this year in the ſeveral ſtates of Europe: the court of London was thrown into confuſion by a rebellion that was ſtirred up by the Spaniards in Ireland: Elizabeth ſent to beſiege Kinſale, the ſtrongeſt place that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of; the earl of Tyrone, their leader, and Don Alonzo del Campo, who commanded the Spaniſh troops in Ireland, haſtened to relieve it with all the forces they could get together, which were cut in pieces by the lord Piercy. Alonzo remained priſoner there, and Kinſale ſurrendered.

Very different reports were raiſed concerning the deſtination of the fleet which was fitted out about this time by the king of Spain, but nothing could be certainly known about it; for after it had rode ſome time in the Mediterranean, it was attacked by a tempeſt, and was obliged to re-enter the port of Barcelona, which it did in a very ſhattered condition:

1601. tion: the command of this fleet had been given to prince Doria. Probably it was deſigned againſt Portugal, where the true or the falſe Don Sebaſtian* ſtill continued to have a great number of partiſans: ſome ſecrets which he revealed, that it ſeemed could have been only known to the king of Portugal; certain natural marks upon his body which he ſhewed, and ſome other circumſtances of the ſame kind, confirmed his aſſertion. However, to confeſs the truth, none of theſe proofs appeared unanſwerable; nevertheleſs the king of Spain thought it the wiſeſt way to rid himſelf privately of this pretended prince: ſo that the truth was never known, or at leaſt to a few perſons only, whoſe intereſt it was not to publiſh it.

A diet was convened at Ratiſbon, with intention to make ſome compoſition between the popiſh and proteſtant religions, but this came to nothing: upon the firſt queſtion propoſed, which was concerning the authority of the holy ſcriptures †, ſuch heat was

* There is ſomething ſurely very ſurpriſing and uncommon in this perfect reſemblance of all the parts, features, and even the defects of the body, which, according to all the hiſtorians, was between the real Don Sebaſtian and this man, who is ſaid to have been a native of Calabria; and it is no leſs difficult to gueſs, how he could come to the knowledge of the circumſtances of this king of Portugal's life, which were ſo peculiar and ſecret as to aſtoniſh all the world. The Portugueſe, ſtill more deceived through their natural affection for the blood of their kings, as alſo through their hatred for Spain (this laſt motive might likewiſe be applied to M. de Sully) than from any evidence they had, perſiſted in ſupporting the claims of this impoſtor. The Septennaire is very favourable to him, an. 1601. p. 217. See what has been ſaid a little higher. The Spaniards were ſo thoroughly convinced of their having diſcovered the cheat, when Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuſcany, had delivered him up into the hands of the Viceroy of Naples, that they no longer ſcrupled to expoſe him as a public gazing-ſtock, mounted him on an aſs; after which they ſent him to the galleys. See Mattlieu, tom. II. l. iii. p. 451.

† This queſtion was publicly debated, during ſeveral ſittings, between the catholic divines of Maximilian duke of Bavaria, and the proteſtant divines of Ludovic count palatine of Neubourg, and of the electors of Saxony and Brandenbourg; the two firſt of theſe princes aſſiſted at it in perſon, and were obliged to put an end to this diſpute, the advantage in which, each of the parties, as is always the caſe, afterwards aſcribed to themſelves. De Thou, Chron. Septen. for the year 1601.

raiſed

raiſed among the diſputants, that an accommodation became impracticable. The papiſts maintained, that their authority was derived wholly from the conſent of the church, that they might add the prerogative of infallibility to the other rights with which they have ſo liberally, and with ſo little reaſon, inveſted the Pope: the proteſtants treated this doctrine with contempt and ridicule. 1601.

The war in Tranſylvania ſtill continued diſadvantageous to the Vaivodes, Battory and Michael, who had revolted from the emperor; they were defeated by George Baſte, and Clauſembourg was taken. The duke of Mercœur ſignalized himſelf no leſs at the head of the Imperial troops againſt the Turks*; he took Albe-Royale in Hungary, a fortreſs eſteemed impregnable; and afterwards drove away the Turks from it, who had returned to beſiege it. The archduke †, leſs fortunate than Mercœur, was beaten before Caniſe; and the knights of Malta took and deſtroyed the city of Paſſava in the Morea.

Conſtantinople and the palace of the Grand Signor was in no leſs commotion, through the diſcontent of the Janizaries, who proceeded ſo far as to ſtrangle, in the preſence of Mahomet III. himſelf, ſeven of the favourites of his ſeraglio, and threatened to depoſe him: he was a man, indeed, whoſe vices rendered him unworthy of a throne; he was cruel, treacherous, ſlothful, avaritious, and ſunk in every kind of voluptuouſneſs.

* The duke of Mercœur, by his great exploits, acquired the reputation of one of the firſt warriors of his time. See them, as alſo the other facts that are here ſpoken of, in the hiſtorians.

† Ferdinand of Auſtria.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.

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